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WINTER 1954

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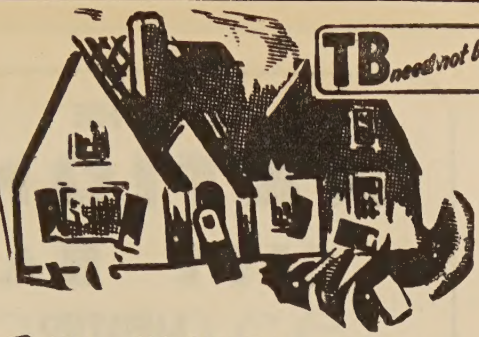

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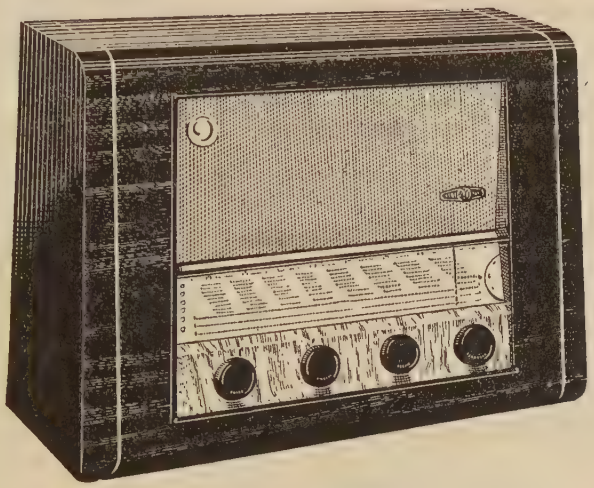

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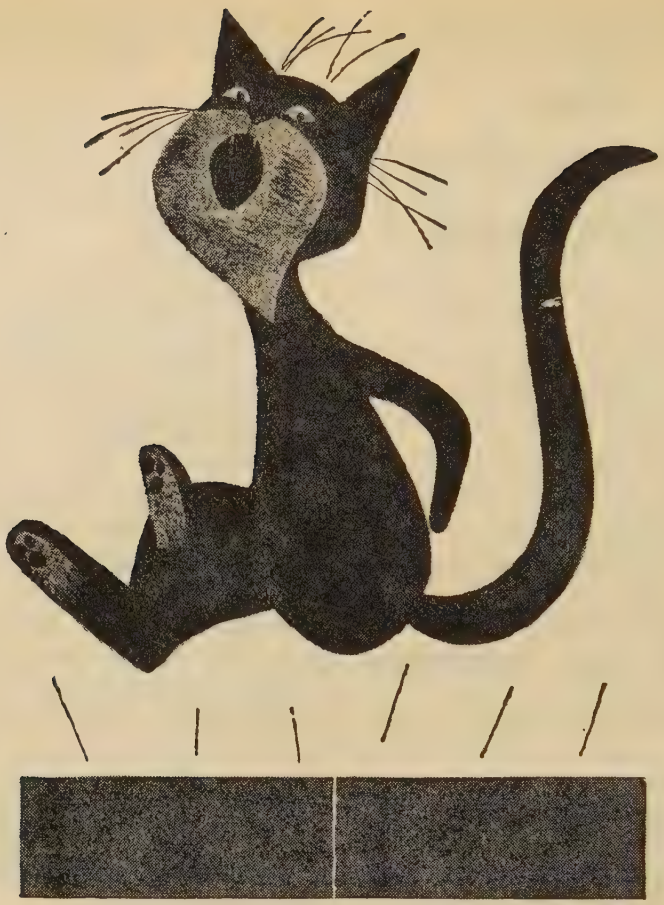

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The Report of the Council of Education

by SEÁN Ó CATHÁIN, S.J., M.A., PH.D.
Lecturer in Education, University College, Dublin

BEFORE any discussion of the Report which the Council of Education has recently presented to the Minister it is essential that the terms of reference of the Council be clearly set out and grasped. If these terms had been kept in mind we might have seen less of the hard-hitting but often highly irrelevant criticisms which have appeared in the press. The Council was asked to give its opinion on two points only : the function of the primary school, and the curriculum of that school up to the age of 12 years. The Council was not asked to consider the question of emigration, or agriculture, or the drift from the land, or the cinema queues in O'Connell Street, Dublin, or the less reputable advertising practices of some secondary schools. Yet it has been blamed for neglecting to discuss each of these facts. It was asked to say what it thought should be the aim of the primary school in Ireland today and, with that aim in view, what subjects should be taught in the school.

In the course of its treatment of these two points the Council did in fact discuss at greater or less length a number of problems which arose out of them. Such problems were : the school-leaving age, free post-primary education, the training of teachers, the maintenance of the school fabric and the setting up of a Research Section by the Department of Education. In fact, only the first of these receives adequate treatment ; it is to be hoped that the others—particularly the last—will be examined at much greater length.

In the following article I propose to examine the findings of the Council on the two questions which established its terms of reference. In dealing with the first question I shall comment also on what the Council has to say about the school-leaving age.

There is, however, one point to be made concerning the general mode of procedure of the Council. As distinct from the proceedings of similar Commissions in recent years, the Council did not invite any witnesses to appear before it. It had in fact the power to do so, but it did not. What it did was to send to a number of individuals and bodies interested in education a questionnaire on the basis of the two main questions. A large number of answers was received and the Council (itself nominated by the Minister because of the educational qualifications or interests of the members) considered these replies in the course of its deliberations. The reasons given by the Council for

not inviting oral evidence are interesting. " Even if such evidence were considered necessary," it says (7)[1], " the selection of representative witnesses would have been extremely difficult, for in the field of education more than in any other, it might be argued, individual experiences and views, at least in matters of practice, are unlimited, and deserving of equal consideration." Is not this tantamount to saying that there can be no coming to a conclusion about any problem of education, that the views of anyone, from the teacher just out of Training College to the Secretary of the Department himself, are to be regarded as of equal weight? And why send out a questionnaire at all in that case? (It may be remarked here that in fact " equal consideration " was not shown. To anticipate a little, when the Council came to discuss the question of Irish, the considered views of a body well qualified to speak, the 1941 Report of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation—the INTO—were hardly given the " consideration " they merited.)

The second reason adduced is that such an examination " would have retarded our procedure to an extent not likely to be justified by the results, particularly in view of the evidence already at our disposal." (*ib.*) The assumption made here is hardly borne out by the results. To give an example : one hears today (and, *pace* the Council, hears very often) that children leave the primary school with a very poor knowledge of English spelling. Now this was a question directly concerned with both points of the Council's agenda. The Report says (155) : " Instances are cited of individual young persons who are found to be almost illiterate. No attempt, however, is made to ascertain whether the number of such cases is at all appreciable . . . ." But did the Council make any attempt? Why not have called witnesses from teachers of Day Junior Courses or of secondary schools, or from among employers? It was surely vital to get views on such an important point. And it is to be noted that no opinions on the point were directly sought in the questionnaire. Oddly enough, where the Report deals with the teaching of English in the schools it nowhere mentions this point. " It is not necessary to say much on the subject of written English. The programme should set down the aim and define the scope. All through the school due attention should be given to penmanship and punctuation." (251).

On the other hand, it must in fairness be said that it would be difficult to ensure a representative selection for this interviewing (to ensure, for example, that the " cranks " who probably would be only too ready to come forward would be balanced by the more reasonable types). Probably too the actual questioning—especially by such a large, to my mind too large, Council—might take a long time. Still I feel that the extra time and labour would have been worth the cost.

[1] References are to the paragraphs of the Report.

I have stressed, at too great length perhaps, this question of lack of oral evidence because I feel that the closer contact with reality which such evidence could have given (in the shape of a " Mother of six " from Drimnagh, shall we say ?) would have dispelled in this Report that atmosphere of the ivory tower which too often pervades it, and which indeed too often lessens the cogency of some of the admirable points it makes.

The Function of the Primary School

From a reading of paras. 367, 368 of the Report it emerges that about one-third of those who leave the primary school proceed to further whole-time education. Of the others, possibly a substantial number will get some form of part-time education. Nevertheless it is not a very satisfactory situation in these modern times. The question is : what should we do about it? Or rather, what can we do about it here and now?

It is clear, both from the steady rise in the number of pupils following a grammar school education and from the spectacular growth in the numbers in vocational schools since the passing of the Act in 1930, that there is a general feeling among our people that the education formerly given in the primary school is not enough, that it can no longer stand alone. Two questions then arise : what, in the light of this further education, the aim of the primary school should be : and (a much more difficult question) whether the State should exercise its duty as guardian of the common good by positively legislating to ensure among its children that higher level of the minimum education which each citizen should have, that is, whether the Irish Government should raise the school-leaving age.

Let it be said immediately that the Report discusses both these questions competently and wisely, that it lays down sound principles and draws from them moderate and practical conclusions. And let it also be said that in most of what has appeared in the form of criticisms or reviews it has received far too little recognition for this section.

Further Education

The Council bases its belief in the inadequacy of primary education alone on a number of factors, some of which would occur to most people, but which acquire a compelling weight when set out as here one after another. It is good to see such a strong case made for a belief that most of us might hold for vague or sentimental reasons. These factors can be only cursorily mentioned here : the general move in this direction in other and neighbouring countries ; the great advance in technology and the physical sciences ; the close connection between a higher standard of education and more intelligent methods of agriculture which must always be our basic industry (a point urged with vigour in the first

of the two Minority Reports). The Report adduces a further reason which may not win as unqualified an assent as the preceding ones : the belief that " even the incidental use of Irish at the ages of 14—16 years would greatly enhance the likelihood of its ultimate revival as a vernacular." (366) The final reason is one which merits very careful thought : " The modern world requires a greater knowledge of things secular but it also demands, for that very reason and because of itself, a still greater knowledge of the spiritual nature and purpose of life. The value of such knowledge is more keenly appreciated and more easily acquired at the later stages of adolescence." (*ib.*) That is well and wisely said.

The Aim of the Primary School

In the light of this need of further education what should be the aim of the primary school? The Council sees it as a double one : " it provides a basic education and it prepares the child for further education should he receive it." (128) Therefore it is no longer the minimum education. It must provide first those skills which are the essential foundations of all further learning and it must act as a " training", a preparing of the child to use aright (obviously *secundum aetatem*) those powers which he will later use in more mature learning. One would wish to see the paragraph (144) summarizing these conclusions made the foundation of a training course for teachers, especially : " It is not what all the children know or what they can do that should be the test of that individual training but how each child reasons, how ordered are his habits, how accurate his methods, how vigorous his curiosity, how controlled his thoughts, how acute his judgment." It is easy to smile pityingly at such sentiments. But they remain at least a noble ideal to be aspired to in spite of large classes and inadequate endowment. And it is more than ever necessary that they should be clearly stated today when utilitarian standards and a demand for quick results and immediate returns influence so many of men's judgments, not least in the field of education.

The School-leaving Age

Having discussed the reasons in favour of further education the Report concludes : " The Council as a whole feels . . . that at least one further year's attendance is desirable for all children." (371) It might then at first sight appear obvious that the Council would have recommended raising the school-leaving age. In fact both the Commission on Technical Education, 1927, and that on Youth Unemployment, 1951, recommended the compulsory raising of the age, first to 15 years and later to 16. However, the second of these two bodies recognized (§62 of its Report) the almost insuperable difficulties which would follow such a

step in present conditions and so suggested a gradual, area by area implementation according as local conditions became favourable.

The Council too sees clearly the problems that would arise. Speaking of the need of an adequate staff, the Report says : " Urgent as the question of providing further facilities for post-primary education may be, all of us would agree that the need for improving the staffing arrangements of the primary school is far more imperative." (325) But this condition and similar ones might be regarded as temporary (though indeed some of them might by this time almost be considered to belong to that peculiar class which we might call " permanent temporary "), and hence it might be thought that the Council, following the lines indicated by the Commission on Youth Unemployment, would suggest the statutory raising of the age once they had disappeared. In fact it did not.

The question has much graver implications than the mere benefits, material or spiritual, that might immediately follow from such a step. As the Report says : " A sufficiently clear distinction has not been made between the desirability of education to a higher age and the wisdom of imposing that education compulsorily." (466) The unique and happy system of our primary schools has resulted in a free education which has resisted undue State interference. But there is no guarantee that with further education such a condition would last. For example, there is the very debatable question of selection for that education. Here the Council had before it as a warning the increasing uneasiness of parents in Britain since the passing of the Education Act of 1944 with what the Report calls " the trend towards the determination by other authority than that of the parents of the aptitude of the child for various types of education." (*ib.*) The whole question of the optimum age at which such a selection should be made is one which has been by no means definitely settled. (In fact the Council tends strongly to the belief that 11+ is altogether too early.)

There is also the fundamental problem of whether in the long run it is good for people that they should seem to be getting too many things free. The Council has adverted to this point also. It emphasizes the growing number of parents who voluntarily provide that further education, and suggests the truth of the adage that one values what one pays for.

The Report concludes this section (407) by not recommending the compulsory raising of the age until such time at least as adequate facilities and suitable courses are everywhere available, and the maximum effort of voluntary attendance at such courses has been achieved.

The Primary School Certificate

Though the discussion of the examination which is supposed to certify the conclusion of a satisfactory primary course comes in the

Report after the Council's deliberations on the curriculum, I have thought fit to bring it forward to this point as it follows naturally enough on a consideration of the school-leaving age.

The examination was first held on a voluntary basis in 1929 and was made obligatory for all pupils in 1943. (This is a rather peculiar obligation as it carries with it no sanction. No action can be taken against a pupil or his parents if he does not sit for the test. It is doubtful, however, if a teacher whose pupils consistently refused to sit would be regarded with extreme favour by the Department.) The examination is a written one in three subjects, Irish, English and Arithmetic, and the course examined is that of Standard VI. In the original scheme there was to have been an oral test in Irish, held by the teacher before the written papers, and the results of this oral test were subject to approval by an inspector.

It is no secret that there has been a good deal of opposition to this examination. The INTO, though they were party to the Committee which advocated the examination (on a voluntary basis), now seem definitely opposed to it. Their views are set out in their *Plan For Education*, 1947. The Council have examined this question and they have presented the views of both supporters and opponents, though it will be a matter of opinion whether both sides have received equal treatment. Their conclusion is : " In general the majority of the Council's members consider it reasonable that such an examination should be held to test each child's proficiency in at least the basic subjects at this stage of his educational career." (357) They see no reason to change anything in the present system except that there should be " greater co-operation between those concerned, improved organisation " and " suitable tests." (*ib.*)

With this conclusion of the Council I am in complete disagreement. In my opinion they have not given due consideration to the arguments on the other side. It must not be supposed that I am not in favour of a test at the end of the primary course. Naturally there must be a test, but what I am opposed to is the nature of this particular test and its undeniable consequences on the education of the children. Considerations of space prevent a full exposition of what I might consider a sound and satisfactory test, or of the course of the argument as expounded in the Report. I can only touch on a few of what seem to me to be the important points.

The opponents say that this test in three subjects leads to undue concentration on those subjects in the year preceding the test, with consequent neglect of the other four (or, if the Council has its way, of the other seven) subjects on the curriculum. It is further alleged that in the large group of schools where a teacher has charge of two or more classes together the education of those not being prepared for examination

suffers. That these, unfortunately, are well-founded facts and not supposition is only too well known to anyone who has spoken to primary teachers, or to parents of children preparing for the tests, or who has experience of primary school work. It is borne out by the parallel fact in schools in England and the Six Counties that in the year preceding the 11+ Selection Examination, every subject except the matter of that test tends to be neglected. The Council counters this by not being " prepared to admit that ' cramming ' should follow from the requirements in question, assuming that the standard set for it is, as it was originally intended to be, ' well within the reach of any diligent pupil of average capacity', and that the school programme has been consistently well taught during the year. On the same assumption they would not admit that the education of other pupils in the school or the training in other subjects would be handicapped through lack of attention." (352) Assumptions however pious must unfortunately yield to facts.

Later on in this article some of the Council's findings on the Irish language will be examined. In the present connection the fact must be mentioned that a direct result of the Certificate written examination is the virtual neglect of oral Irish in the year preceding this test. That children leaving school have a poor oral command of the language is borne out, for example, by the statistics quoted in *A Plan For Education*, p. 116. Of 847 children entering the Dublin vocational schools that year, 186 (22%) passed the oral Irish test. Presumably this group had taken the Certificate examination that year, and presumably too the usual 70–75% of them passed, though here it is probably true that this group does not represent the highest intellectual level among those leaving the primary school. The best had probably gone on to secondary education. Nevertheless the test with its exclusion of any oral examination (though it will be remembered that such an oral was included in the original scheme), must surely take a very large part of the blame. But the only reference in the Report is : " Several of our members stressed the importance of the certificate bearing some reference to the candidate's proficiency in oral Irish." (355) Their views however were not apparently of sufficient weight to ensure their being mentioned in the formal conclusion of this section, even though when the Council was discussing the Irish programme in detail it stated : " Oral expression should take precedence over all other sections of the Irish programme." (218)

A final point must be mentioned. " The majority of our members are convinced that parents generally appreciate the value of the examination and favour its continuance." (356) This is contradicted by the second of the two Minority Reports (7), and again we are left wishing that the Council had found time to interview some actual parents instead of telling us what " parents generally " (whoever they may be) think.

Is it not odd too that up to 1942, while the examination was still voluntary, only 25% of the pupils attended? (348) Did these "parents generally" undergo a sudden conversion after that date?

THE CURRICULUM UP TO 12 YEARS OF AGE

The second point on which the Council was asked to report was the curriculum to be pursued from the infant age up to 12 years of age. (If I may be allowed a momentary facetiousness in this rather ponderous article, it strikes me that the harried and anxious teacher, particularly in our 1 and 2 Teacher schools, would heartily agree with the use of the verb "pursue" in that context.) It is difficult to see, first of all, why the age of 12 years was chosen by the Minister as a posterior limit. The Council is aware of this perplexity (188) and decides that what is wanted is a curriculum up to the end of Standard V. But why stop there? It is true that the Department of Education, Secondary Branch, will recognize a pupil of 12 years of age (thereby, incidentally, creating a confusion and an overlapping between the two Branches), but that can hardly be the Minister's reason for selecting that age here. In effect the problem does not touch the Report as the principles it lays down and the proposals it makes with reference to the ages in question may be considered as its views on the primary curriculum in general.

Under this heading the Council has examined the present curriculum and has made a number of recommendations on it, firstly with regard to the number of subjects it would regard as necessary, and secondly with regard to the programme and teaching of the several subjects. Under the first heading it proposes adding to the present list of seven compulsory subjects (Religious Instruction, Irish, English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Music—in the lower Standards, and Needlework for girls) three more: Physical Training, Nature Study and Drawing. It also recommends that Music be taught in all Standards.

The Council has also considered a number of other topics arising out of the curriculum: staffing problems, the training of teachers (this latter in a very cursory fashion), school equipment and maintenance, the Primary Certificate as we have seen, and, finally, the question of home-work. I mention these topics because to judge from criticisms already published one might be tempted to believe that the Council was concerned with only two topics: the teaching of Irish and the inclusion of the extra subjects. In fact, apart from these two contentious points the Council has, under the various topics mentioned, made a number of excellent suggestions which merit serious consideration from anyone who professes to be interested in problems of education, and is not just "out for a row or a ruction".

As an example, I may mention the Council's recommendation under the heading "Managerial System." (333—336) The Report points

out that the primary school is in fact a parochial school : it belongs to the parish, that is to say, to the priests and people of the parish. Its problems are their problems. The Manager should not therefore have to bear alone the burden of finding the means to look after the fabric, the heating and the cleaning. Local committees working under his direction could do a great deal not only in those matters but in many others also to make their school something to be proud of. The Council is obviously referring here to that tendency, all too common in our country, to throw the onus for everything on the Government. " Why doesn't the Government do something about it ? " The Council in effect says : " Why don't you do something about your own property ? "

If then I choose for more detailed comment the two points mentioned above, it is not because I disagree with the findings of the Council with regard to them, which in fact I do, but because they must be considered at the moment to be the two most important topics discussed in this section.

The Extra Subjects

As has been already noted, the Council recommends the addition of three more subjects to the curriculum : Physical Training, Nature Study and Drawing. The Council is at pains to set out their reasons for including these subjects, and with those reasons all who have at heart the sound education of children must fully agree. They are based on the excellent principle that education is of the whole man, that our primary curriculum so far has tended to stress the development of intellect and will and has neglected the physical, emotional and æsthetic aspects of the child. The Report then explains briefly how the three subjects would cover this neglect, and it gives the outlines of a course in each subject.

If then I say that I disagree with the findings of the Council here I do so with regret and solely because I fail to see how these subjects can at the moment be added to the course. The Council has said that it makes these recommendations " with full regard for facts and realities " (167) or as is said in another connection, " the Council must have regard not only to a fair ideal in education, but to the practicability of giving effect to that ideal." (317) They had, therefore, to consider how to find the time necessary for these additions. From a reading of paras. 288—305 I gather that at least four periods a week must be found, five if Music be extended to the higher Standards. (Here I question whether one half-hour a week would be enough to cover the course in Nature Study outlined in para. 295.) To find the time, the Report maintains (178) that these subjects will in a number of ways help the other subjects (Nature Study and Geography, Drawing and Handwriting, etc.), and will in this way compensate for the time taken from them. The conclusion is a possible, but by no means a necessary one. It would be a probable one if conditions in the school—size and standard of class, sufficiency of excellent teachers, etc.—were ideal. Unfortunately—

The Council proposes that the actual time be found by reducing the time allotted at present to written Irish and English. (223) The core of the problem, therefore, lies in the " practicability " of this step. I am not competent to state whether too much time is in fact given to these subjects, but I can follow the argument of the second Minority Report where it is pointed out (4) that in the 1 and 2 Teacher schools, such a curtailment is just impossible. Even in the 2 teacher school each teacher has charge of two groups with at least two Standards in each group. While one group is at oral work with the teacher, the other must be at written. So, if time is taken it must be taken from the time for oral work (with, I should think, the possible exception of Drawing, which might be regarded as written work), and I think the Council would hardly recommend that step. An important point about this argument is that the schools in question form about 74% of the country's schools (147) They are indeed the normal school in this country, regret it though we may.

I fear that most teachers would ask rather for a curtailment of the present curriculum than for an extension of it, and in this I think I would be on their side. The inescapable fact is that our primary school children have to learn two languages where their fellows in other countries have to learn but one. And if we are in earnest about the revival of Irish, then we must make up our minds to do without what might under other conditions be rightly regarded as a worthy and beautiful ideal. I cannot see any way out of that dilemma.

The Teaching of Irish

And so we come to the Council's treatment of the teaching of Irish. Under present circumstances it must have been the most difficult of all the points covered in the Report. The wording in this section makes it clear that there was a substantial amount of difference of opinion among the members. Indeed it was chiefly this point that occasioned the two Minority Reports, the first signed by three members and the second by one. It was presumably this disagreement, coupled with the desire to produce something to which the majority of the Council could subscribe, that has led to the disappointing character of this part of the Report.

The findings of the Majority Report may be summed up as follows : they believe that the Irish language should be revived as the vernacular ; they believe that it can be revived ; they believe that the school with some outside support can revive it, and, finally, they believe that the present curriculum and practice, with some slight modifications, is satisfactory. These four articles of belief are explicitly stated in the Report. Taking them together it would seem to follow that the present position is reasonably satisfactory. But the Report, remarkably tolerant of so many divergent views, does not go quite so far as that. What does it think of the present position ?

It " cannot but view with a degree of satisfaction the efforts of the primary school in this task . . ." (366). What a disarmingly vague word is that " degree " ! Let us try to see what the degree is. Having set out (204—206) some of the difficulties in the task, the Report gives (207) the other side of the picture. It begins with one of those concessive clauses altogether too frequent in this section : " While granting all this, and admitting that the view is also held that little or no progress has been made . . . ." Now that last admission is a very serious one, and one would have expected the Council to have made some attempt to find out how widely it is held. Instead we are given some conjectures and some facts that are apparently regarded as contra-indications. The relevant portions of this very important paragraph, presenting as it does almost the sum total of what the Council has to say for the present position, may be set out here. " Census reports notwithstanding, most of us feel that much has been achieved in the last 30 years . . . . To object that less Irish is heard now than was 30 years ago may possibly be correct . . . . It would, however, be generally admitted by our members, although figures to prove it are not available, that there are today more homes in English-speaking districts in which Irish is the first language, that the number of our children and young people who can answer in Irish is immensely greater, that in many offices and shops business can be transacted in Irish, that the standard of oral Irish possessed by non-native speakers of the language is higher, and that a thriving literature is read by a great number."

It is not a very heartening picture of conditions after an intensive drive lasting almost 30 years ; and even as it stands it requires some qualification. It is not clear that the *ability* to answer in Irish or to transact business in the language is any great indication of progress unless that ability is translated into act. The old tag, *a posse ad esse non valet illatio*, might have been borne in mind by the Council in this connection. There are probably more Irish-speaking homes in the Galltacht now than there were 30 years ago ; but one thinks wryly of the homes in the Gaeltacht emptied during those years. The crucial question is : is Irish more widely spoken now than it was 30 years ago? And to this fundamental question the Council can only answer that it is "possibly correct" to say that it is not.

This is worse than unsatisfactory. There are times when one must simply stop hedging if one is to be honest. When the Council came to this stage in their deliberations somebody should have said : " Look here, everything from this on that we decide to say about Irish in the schools must rest on our answer to this one question. We have to give a straight answer here or else go on qualifying and shilly-shallying to the end. Is Irish being more widely spoken now? Leave aside for the moment secondary questions like increased ability to speak it or increases in the sale of Irish books. Are more people speaking Irish more frequently now? We have said that we believe that the schools with support

outside can revive the language. Very well, are there any appreciable signs so far of that support? We *must* satisfy ourselves there, and then and only then can we go on to discuss the programme with any sense of reality."

And even if the questioning necessary to arrive at an objective answer had meant a very substantial delay in the publication of the Report, it would have been worth the delay. And even if it had meant such a cleavage of opinion among the members of the Council that a Majority Report, on this one point at any rate, would have become impossible, even that would have been better than what has been patched together here.

The Council itself in its hesitant manner shows awareness that there is, to put it mildly, a growing murmur of unease and dissatisfaction with the present position. That the " case against Irish " as it is wrongly called is partly fostered by a group who are in general opposition to things Irish may be readily granted. But to assume, as many supporters of the *status quo* (but not the Council) do, that anyone who questions the implementation of the policy is thereby a shoneen, a West-Briton and in general an anti-social character, is a form of tactics that has long since lost any relation to the objective situation.

The Council admits that " among many, the majority perhaps, there is towards Irish what must be described as apathy." (203) The attitude might fairly have been described as something much more tragically positive than apathy. " The child can scarcely be expected, at his age, uninfluenced by his elders and his surroundings, to become a pioneer in the use of Irish." (205) Most people would say that he is very much influenced, but in the wrong direction. The picture is more clearly still delineated in para. 204. And yet the Council will not draw the conclusion of their own limited findings that the present position is utterly unsatisfactory. Once again one regrets deeply the decision of the Council not to call any witnesses.

In this connection too a word must be said on the treatment given to the " Report on the use of Irish as a teaching medium to children whose home-language is English " issued by the INTO in 1941. This was an important document, based on the views of many of those who were competent to bear witness to what was happening. One need not agree entirely with either the general tone or the objectivity of some of the conclusions arrived at in this document to wonder at the treatment it seems to have received in the deliberations of the Council. Reports from England, Scotland, Wales and Sweden have been quoted with approval ; nowhere in the Majority Report has this 1941 Report been mentioned. That document has, on a number of crucial points, arrived at conclusions opposite to those of the Council. Its arguments have nowhere been directly countered. I may instance the suggestion that the virtual abolition of the home-language from the Infant School leads to repression of the child. The INTO makes a strong case (some would say, too strong) for the suggestion. The Council disposes of the suggestion

as follows : " They do not agree that the programme for Infants, in the hands of a qualified teacher, aware of her purpose and sure of her methods, tends to repression or to unfavourable psychological consequences for the child." (216) The Report goes on to adduce in support of this view the personal experience of the members. One is puzzled, looking at the list of the members of the Council, when they talk of "experience". I am not taking sides in this question of repression (and it must be remembered that the INTO report purports to illustrate the state of affairs prior to 1941. The percentage of well-qualified teachers of Irish has surely improved in the intervening years) ; I am simply showing the treatment given a responsible document. I might also mention that precisely the same treatment was given to the further statement prepared by the INTO : their *Plan For Education*, 1947.

I had intended in this part of the article dealing with the question of Irish to discuss the findings of the Council in detail. I have, however, confined myself to the one topic of the present position of Irish, firstly because detailed criticisms on the other points have already appeared in the press by persons and organisations better qualified in some cases to speak than I am, and secondly, because I feel, as I have already said that this was the crucial point of the enquiry, that the relevance and validity of the Council's conclusions depended on a clear and unequivocal statement on this point. I have looked in vain for any such statement, and so I feel very little interest in the opinions of the Council on the satisfactoriness of the present programme or in the various suggestions they make concerning its subsidiary details.

The Council may object that I have given a distorted view of their findings. They may point to the picture they have given of the unfavourable conditions outside the school, and in particular, they may point to the fact that they themselves have clearly stated (204) that the school of itself cannot revive Irish.

I can only answer by saying that their fault has been one of emphasis. The sketch they have given of conditions outside the school is inadequate and the stress laid on it by the Council altogether insufficient. The plain and inescapable fact is that in the world outside the school there is mighty little of the " vision of greatness " about Irish. All that the best and most enthusiastic of teachers can do inside the school to instil into the child a love and esteem of his own language is being killed (the term is not too strong) as soon as he comes into contact with present Irish life. Mr. de Valera has lately reiterated his belief that " the teachers can revive Irish." With respect, the teachers can do no such thing, and the sooner we stop saying things like that and face facts, the better a hope there will be for Irish.

Is it too much to say that one word of disdain for the language from a parent whom the child is taught to respect can in a moment nullify weeks of work by the teacher ? Is there any need to enumerate the other

factors confronting the child wherever he turns which militate against any regard for Irish he may have learnt in school? I see the teacher's work for Irish as a labour of Sisyphus—ever labouring to create a situation that collapses as soon as he takes his hand from it. As I was writing this article I came on an item in the *Irish Press* which I transcribe here. It is the opening paragraph in the feature "Captain Mac", 27 October, 1954. "You may remember that last year I asked the members of Club na nÓg to write what they thought about Irish. Indeed I received stacks and stacks of letters. Hardly any were *against* Irish ; but a good many were against the *learning* of it." And the obvious answer to that, that children dislike learning in general, just will not do. Children nowadays do definitely seem to like school, and they do like learning new things. But these children dislike learning Irish.

Apart from these factors in the situation, there are others which the Council might well have adverted to. I feel, for instance, that in much of what has been positively done to further the cause of revival, not enough account has been taken of the way people think and feel. Some supporters of the cause have not gone noticeably out of their way to conciliate people's feelings. They obviously have not heard of St. Francis de Sales' spoonful of honey and barrelful of vinegar. And the same disregard for psychology is to be found in the actions of those in higher places. People do not like to be pushed about too much, especially if they do not understand and accept why the pushing is going on. I am talking now about ordinary people, and the ordinary man finds it hard for example to see why a postman must pass an examination in oral Irish, but a Minister of Posts need not. The attitude towards Irish of many people in the Gaeltacht in view of their continued neglect by Government is another instance. People will believe in the vision of greatness if they see that those who propose that vision to them act as if they themselves believed in the gospel they preach, if they realize that the vision is a reality to those prominent in the life of the country. If they see otherwise, who shall blame them if they grow resentful and cynical and angry? I am not against "compulsory Irish". Have we not compulsory Arithmetic and English, and one hears no complaints? But I am against a compulsion that has remained meaningless to most of our people.

Those are some of the factors that I see combining to undo the good that is being done in our schools. The time has clearly arrived when we can no longer shut our eyes to them. They need to be faced and examined and remedies found for them. But they will not pass away if we ignore them ; and, more to our point here, if we continue to deliberate no matter how wisely about Irish in the schools without seeing that the existence of that climate of opinion outside is the most important factor in the problem, we shall be simply working to no avail.

Seán Ó Catháin, S.J.

National Investment

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IN his admirable discourse to the Irish Management Institute last January, Dr. Beddy shed much light on how the capital requirements of industry have been met in the Irish Republic. He estimated tentatively that of the capital employed in 1953 in industries producing transportable goods, 10 per cent. had been contributed by banks and institutional investors, 20 per cent. by creditors, 50 per cent. by share capital and 20 per cent. from retained profits. He concluded that in the future industry must meet much of its capital requirements by new flotations and by ploughing back its profits, and that the public must be encouraged to accept the former and firms facilitated in accumulating the latter.[1]

If, however, we are concerned with the future health of our economy, we must go beyond Dr. Beddy's analysis. In the first place, we must not confine our attention to industrial capital formation : rather, we must include investment expenditure by public authorities, private persons, and by agricultural, financial and commercial undertakings, as well as those by firms engaged in industry. Second, it is not sufficient to know how the monies needed to finance past and present capital formation have been, or are being, raised—whether by the issue of ordinary shares, debentures, bank loans or retained profits. What matters is not so much the channel by which funds reach the firm that makes the investment as the source whence they come. We must know whether they come from current saving or from a change in the form in which past savings are held. The former involves abstention from current consumption ; the latter, too often, involves the sacrifice of earning assets. This essay is an attempt to examine some of these wider issues. More precisely, it has a three-fold aim : first, to review briefly the quantity, quality and source of investment expenditures in the Irish Republic in recent years ; second, to argue that current investment expenditure should be financed from current saving ; third, to suggest how the level of current saving might be raised.

Investment Expenditure 1947–52

The maintenance and improvement of our standard of living require a high level of productive investment expenditure. The chief characteristic of such expenditure is that it is self-liquidating : the sale of the new goods and services that are produced provides a fund from which

[1] *Irish Management* May-June, 1954.

those who financed the initial investment outlays can be rewarded and reimbursed. The estimated expenditures on all kinds of new investment in the Republic in the years 1947—1952 inclusive are given in the first row of Table I. With the information at present available, it is not possible to say how much of these investment expenditures have been devoted to " productive " projects. In assessing their productivity however, the identity of the investor is not irrelevant. In general, in the Republic as, indeed, in most countries, investment by government departments and local authorities usually takes the form of schools, hospitals, slum-clearance, etc. ; that is, it is concentrated on those projects that take a rather long time—perhaps several generations, even eternity—to fructify. The influence of these projects on the volume of production is indirect, long-term and problematical : by improving workers' health and amenities, they may increase their productivity. In contrast, investments undertaken by private persons and companies are generally directed to projects that promise to pay for themselves within, at the most, one or two decades. Their impact on the volume of production is more immediate, more direct and more certain. The distinction between private and public investments is, admittedly, one of degree. But the differences of degree are generally so large that the distinction is clarified rather than obscured by dubbing the former " productive " and the latter " unproductive." The distribution of the funds available for investment between the shorter-term (and generally private) projects, and the much longer-term (and generally public) projects, is, of course, a matter for social choice. The prime requirement is that all concerned with this choice should be aware of its implications. " Productive " investment increases the volume of production so that there is potentially more for each of us. The service and maintenance of an " unproductive " investment is a continuing charge on the same volume of production.

No matter what the nature of the investment expenditure is, there are only three sources from which it can ultimately be financed, namely, current saving, external disinvestment and external borrowing. Current saving means abstinence from current consumption. There is external disinvestment when, for example, British Government securities owned by people residing here are sold to people residing elsewhere. External borrowing occurs when Irish residents borrow from people living outside the Republic. The figures in Table I show that in each of the years from 1947 to 1952 current saving fell short of current investment expenditure. When investment exceeds current saving, our net foreign balance is negative and equal to the difference between them, indicating that we have sold external assets or borrowed from abroad. The extent to which we have done so is shown in the last row of the table. Of the excess of domestic investment expenditure over saving during the

whole of this period of £160 millions, £6·5 millions came from the E.C.A. grant, £40·7 millions was by way of loan from the E.C.A., and the remainder—nearly £113 millions—almost certainly came from the realization of external assets.

TABLE 1[1]

	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
			(£'s millions)			
Domestic Investment	44·6	40·5	35·4	45·5	61·2	39·0
Saving	14·8	20·9	25·7	15·3	—0·4	30·0
Foreign Disinvestment	29·8	19·6	9·7	30·2	61·6	9·0

These figures merely register facts in so far as they are statistically measureable. The important question is whether it is desirable to finance domestic investment expenditure here by realizing external assets and incurring new external liabilities. In seeking an answer to this question, three considerations are relevant. First, our external assets are not infinitely large, so that we cannot permanently finance our investment even partly from this source. The Report of the Central Bank of Ireland for the year ending 31 March 1953 points out (page 17) that during the period 1947—52 the net increase in sterling assets accumulated during the Second World War has been completely offset by the realization of sterling holdings and the incurring of new external liabilities, dollar as well as sterling.

Secondly, the current income from external assets helps to pay for current imports. When the external asset is sold, the income from it stops. If the proceeds of the sale are spent on current consumption or on an unproductive investment project, the economy's command over goods and services is reduced. If imports are to be maintained at their existing level, exports must be increased by an amount equal to that previously yielded by the external asset ; if exports are not expanded, then, *ceteris paribus*, less can be imported. Where the proceeds of the sale of an external asset are used to initiate or expand a protected industry, the effects are similar. Instead of importing the finished produce, we will import the raw materials, or components needed to produce it. However, if the new employment in the protected industry represents a net increase in total employment, this reduction in the value of our imports may be offset by increased imports of other things, for the newly

[1] Table taken from the Report of the Central Bank of Ireland for year ending 31 March 1953, page 16.

employed will have more money to spend. In addition, in the longer run as the effects of the higher prices that have to be paid for protected products are diffused throughout the economy, there will be a general upward pressure on prices causing some unemployment and hampering exports. The net effect of all these changes will probably be some reduction in real income. These adverse effects can only be avoided if the proceeds of external disinvestment are used directly to increase our export potential. To the extent that they have not been so used, we have been robbing Peter to pay Paul, where Peter is Paul's son or grandson. The same considerations are relevant if we incur a new external liability : exports must be increased to service the loan and ultimately to repay it. Here again, the proceeds have been used to too great an extent to finance investments that will bear fruit only in the rather distant future, if at all. While they are fructifying, exports or saving must be increased, or further loans must be raised, or more external assets realized.

Thirdly, even if the proceeds of external disinvestment were always used to finance productive investment at home, it would not follow that the disinvestment was desirable. Our inescapable dependence on external trade forces us to accept its attendant risks. An extreme example of these risks is whether or not we shall be able to sell our agricultural surpluses in the future. Our capacity to do so depends not merely on the rate of technical progress in Irish agriculture, but on the relation between rates of progress here and in Britain and in the other countries that supply her. If we lag behind, and if the Irish pound is kept at par with sterling, our agricultural exports would become relatively expensive, and both their volume and value might fall drastically. In these circumstances, external assets would ease the first shock and their repatriation could facilitate the necessary adjustments. If the link with sterling were severed and the Irish pound devalued, the external assets would be more than ever necessary for its support at the new rate. External assets are like paid-up insurance policies : it is better to hold them lest the factory is burned down than to surrender them spasmodically and piece-meal to pay the foreman's wages.

Two conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, " unproductive " investment should not be financed by external disinvestment : to do so merely substitutes an internal liability for an external asset. Further, it should not be financed by new external borrowing, for that would merely add liability to liability. Second, the risks that we must bear as a trading nation make it desirable that our external assets should be preserved intact ; in so far as we can, we should therefore avoid realizing them even to finance "productive" investment expenditures at home. It follows that current investment expenditures should be financed as far as possible from current saving. And our economic future will be

the brighter the more there is of cost-saving, efficiency-promoting, " productive " investment.

Finance of Current Investment

Our economic development depends on a high rate of " productive " investment. This and other investment expenditures must be financed as far as possible from current saving. If this is to be achieved, the rate of current saving must be increased. Any acceptable solution to this problem must meet at least the following requirements. First, it must encourage private persons and companies to increase their current saving. The higher rate of saving is necessary not only to ensure that investment expenditures are financed without realizing external assets or incurring new external liabilities ; it is also necessary to make possible a higher rate of current investment. In a free society, an increase in the rate of saving must be sought by inducing, rather than forcing, people to save. It is probably true that personal saving depends mainly on the size of post-tax—that is, disposable—income, and only to a relatively small extent on the rate of interest that is offered. If this is so, then an inducement which increases a person's disposable income is more likely to succeed in calling forth higher saving than one that makes saving more remunerative. Such an inducement might take the form of the remission of income tax, at the standard rate, on that part of personal income that is saved. The rate of corporate saving—that is, saving by business firms—depends mainly on the size of their profits, the rates of taxes on business income and profits, and the firms' dividend policies. The total undistributed profits—that is, business or corporate saving—might be enhanced by any measure that increases the first of these, or diminishes either of the latter. The abolition of price-controls might, for example, make it possible for firms to earn higher profits. In their doing so, however, the real incomes of their customers would be *pro tanto* reduced, so that private saving might fall by as much as corporate saving rose. Dividend limitation would mean that less was distributed out of any given level of profits, and so increase undistributed profits. This limitation, however, by reducing the incomes of the dividend-receivers and by making saving less remunerative might curtail private saving. If that happened, then total saving might not be increased, for the rise in corporate saving might be offset by a fall in private saving. The measure most likely to bring about a rise in corporate saving without any offsetting reductions elsewhere would be some alleviation of the tax burden at present borne by firms.

Secondly, it is necessary that current saving be made available for current investment expenditures on terms that are acceptable to those who do the saving. Dr Beddy, in his paper on " Capital for Industry,"

stated that " there is no doubt that the habit of investment is not one which is as yet fairly widespread," and that " there are large numbers of people with modest accumulations of capital who never think of investment as they know nothing about it and, in fact, they fear it as something speculative and hazardous." He says that the smallness of the investing public means that dealings in many securities on the Dublin Stock Exchange are infrequent, so that " many people are deterred from investing in Irish industrial securities as they fear that they cannot realise them quickly if the need arises or if they realise them they might, perhaps, have to take a price below the true value of the shares." [1] If this diagnosis is correct and if we seek a long-term solution to our problem, we might rely on education and experience to alter the attitudes of potential investors. The problem, however, is an urgent one. We must, therefore, accept that those who might invest their saving in domestic enterprises may have these feelings and seek a solution accordingly. These feelings that industrial investment is " speculative and hazardous " are complex. First, people may be unwilling to bear the risks implicit in holding equities ; second, there is the suspicion that at least some equities are unsound ; third, memories of bankruptcies make even some debentures suspect. These feelings co-exist, quite inconsistently, with a " sweepstake " mentality : with equities there is the possibility of capital appreciation, and the incidental dangers of capital loss and erratic income may merely make the equities more exciting. The investor with only his own relatively modest saving at his disposal—and he is the rule rather than the exception in this country—cannot insure himself against these possibilities by spreading his investments widely. If " small " savings are to be made available for the finance of current investment, some intermediary in the nature of a National Investment Board must be set up. The saver would lend his saving to the Board at a fixed rate of interest. The Board would then make these current savings available to industrial and other investors. The guaranteeing of a fixed interest rate would overcome, at least in part, the unwillingness of savers to undertake the hazards of investment in industrial and other enterprises. The continuing income of the Board from new savings each year would enable it to repay any client who wished to withdraw his saving, and so allay the fear of a capital loss. The advantages of such an Investment Board are not confined to personal savers. Firms with undistributed profits which they are accumulating with a view to self-financing future investment expenditures might lend these to the Board until they are required. To do so would be more remunerative and might involve less fear of illiquidity than any other use to which they might be put outside the firm in which they had been earned.

[1] Beddy, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Thirdly, current saving should be available for current investment on terms acceptable to those undertaking the investment expenditure. It may be that a new firm will wish to finance itself as far as possible by equity capital : that is, by the issue of ordinary shares. Investment expenditure financed in this way carries with it no contractual obligation to make fixed payments in the future : in that way the firm gains flexibility and manœuvrability. The same would apply to an existing firm wishing to raise funds for its expansion ; but in some circumstances the flexibility that goes with financing through share capital may be outweighed by the fact that the existing owners might not want to lose or diminish either their control or their chances of large capital gains. They might, therefore, prefer to raise the new capital by an issue of debenture stock, so that those who provide it become the firm's creditors and not its part-owners. There is no reason why the resources of the National Investment Board should not be made available to individual investors in the form that they deem most desirable.

Measures to Increase Saving

The problem, then, is that of financing a high and, if possible, expanding level of current investment without recourse to external disinvestment and new external borrowing. Its solution requires an increase in domestic saving, and the channelling of these savings to prospective investors on terms acceptable both to those who save and to those who are contemplating the investment expenditures. The following proposals are designed to meet these requirements.

First, a National Investment Board should be set up with a nominal capital to act as an intermediary between those who save and those who require finance for current investment expenditures. The capital of the Board would be subscribed by the Central Bank, the Joint Stock Banks, the Industrial Credit Company and the Agricultural Credit Corporation. These institutions would appoint the directors whose voting rights would depend on the share of the capital held by them. The day to day administration of the Board would be in the hands of a full-time managing director. The Board would accept loans at a fixed rate of interest, say, 4 per cent. It would use these deposits to provide capital for new investment expenditures either on an equity or debenture basis, depending on the preferences of those requiring the accommodation. The Board would be non-profiting making : the excess of its receipts by way of interest or dividends over its annual outgoings by way of interest to depositors, payment of salaries to its staff, rent, etc., might be put to three uses. First, a part should be distributed to its depositors to satisfy very modestly their desires for capital gains. Secondly, a part should be used to build up a modest reserve. Thirdly, the remainder should be used to increase the level, and improve the

productivity, of investment expenditure in the Irish economy. The manner in which this might be effected is by financing (either wholly or with the assistance of Trade Associations or interested government departments) fact-finding excursions by industrial and agricultural productivity teams to England and the continent. The emphasis of all such schemes, wholly or partly financed by the Board, should be on increasing the efficiency of both agriculture and industry by promoting the use of the most up-to-date techniques. If the deposits of the Board are insufficient to meet all demands that are being made on it, then it should give priority to those schemes that promise to be most productive.

This proposed National Investment Board would not compete directly with the Irish Banks. The Board would be concerned with providing long-term finance for investment expenditure on fixed assets, plant and machinery. The Banks, on the other hand, have mainly financed short-term investment in stocks or work in progress. In this, the Board will not be competing with them. Indeed, to the extent that its efforts to expand the level of investment expenditure are successful, the demand for such accommodation as the Banks provide will be enhanced. It is highly desirable, however, that the Banks should have a say in the direction of the Board, so that their experience and knowledge should not be lost to it. The Board will not necessarily deprive the Industrial Credit Company of the functions that it now exercises. The Industrial Credit Company underwrites Public flotations, acts as an Issuing House, makes long-term loans to industry, and, in general, makes provision for the capital requirements of Irish industry either by direct investment or by helping to develop an active capital market in Irish industrial securities. The Board would not act as either underwriter or Issuing House ; rather, its operations would assist the Industrial Credit Company in performing these roles, and also in increasing the marketability of Irish securities, for the Board would always be present as a potential buyer. The two institutions might compete, however, in providing loans to industry. Such overlapping as might arise could be kept to a minimum by making the Industrial Credit Company responsible for financing projects that do not meet the Board's requirements of financial viability, but which are nevertheless desirable on non-economic grounds.

So that the National Investment Board may be continuously supplied with funds for the finance of investment expenditure, current saving should be exempt from income-tax. In framing any measure to effect this exemption, care must be taken to close two loop-holes. First, an individual might save this year and spend what he has saved next year. Thus, an individual who has no source of sustenance other than his current income might save £20 during the financial year 1952—3 ; during the year 1953—4, the £20 saved in the previous year might be spent. In the year 1952—3, he will have enjoyed exemption from tax

on the £20 that he has saved. Unless special steps are taken, he will incur no extra tax-liability in the year 1953—4, for the proceeds of the sale of assets or the realization of savings are not generally liable to income tax. There would, therefore, be an incentive for each person to arrange for his spending to lag by one year behind his income, or at the least to see that as much as possible of his spending takes place in the tax year following the earning of income. It would be no solution to this problem, however, to prohibit the realization of saving on which tax-relief had been given, for saving is a device for postponing consumption and one of the urges to save now is the hope of spending the savings in the future. On the other hand, if no step is taken in this direction, an individual might finance each year's saving by spending what he had saved in the immediately preceding year, and so continue to qualify for tax-relief. Some compromise solution is, therefore, called for. It is proposed that to qualify for tax-relief, the saving must be deposited with the National Investment Board for a minimum period of five years. The deposit might take the form of some non-negotiable instrument like a savings certificate. Five years after the date of purchase, the certificate could be " cashed," and the owner would receive its full face value. If the certificate were cashed in any of the intervening years, some deduction for tax should be made, preferably on a sliding-scale. Thus if the certificate were cashed within one year of the date of purchase, tax should be deducted at the full rate that would have been paid on the sum involved if it had not been " saved." If it is cashed in the second year of its life, tax should be deducted at 4/5 of this rate ; if in the third year, at 3/5, in the fourth year at 2/5, and in the fifth year, at 1/5. This would make the certificate less illiquid, and would still maintain some incentive for those who feared they might need to draw on their savings in a few years' time.

Secondly, an individual might try to qualify for the tax exemption by selling bonds, shares or other assets that he already owns, and depositing the proceeds with the Investment Board as current saving. Fortunately, the Inland Revenue have, or should have, sufficient knowledge to prevent this from happening. An income-tax payer must declare not only his current earned income, but also any income he receives from any other source, and the source must be specified. In so far as tax-payers make correct returns, any shift in assets from shares, bonds or property to deposits with the National Investment Board would be apparent. The problem, however, is to make sure that only that part of the deposits made during the year with the Board which represents current saving should be exempt from tax. If the value of each asset that a person might hold always remained stable during the year, then his net saving could, without ambiguity, be defined as the net increase in the value of his assets in that period. In fact, however, the prices of bonds, shares, and indeed of all the forms in which wealth can be stored

other than money, usually fluctuate. If the long-term rate of interest has fallen, the value of bonds will rise. If the bonds are then sold and the proceeds deposited with the Board, the net increase in the value of assets during the year will include not only current saving but an element of capital appreciation. Clearly, it would be undesirable to give tax-relief on the whole of this. The element of capital appreciation can be excluded if current saving is defined as the increase in deposits with the National Investment Board during the year *less* any asset that is sold, valued at the price at which it actually was sold. A simple example may help to clarify this point. Suppose that A on the 1 April 1953 holds one unit of 2½% Consolidated Stock with a market value on that date of £60, and that he owns also a deposit of £100 with the Board. On 1 May 1953 the rate of interest falls, so that the market value of a unit of Consolidated Stock rises to £70. At this price he sells his bond, and deposits the proceeds with the National Investment Board. During the year 1953—4, he also saves £100 from current income, and deposits the whole of it with the Board. If we define his current saving simply as the difference between the value of his assets on 1 April 1954 and their value in the 1 April 1953, he will have saved (£100 plus £100 plus £70) *less* (£100 plus £60), or £110. That is, his current saving measured in this way will consist of £100 from current income and £10 from capital appreciation of the unit of Consolidated Stock before he sold it. The element of capital appreciation can only be excluded if current saving is defined as the increase in deposits with the Board during the financial year *less* any other asset sold during the year valued at the price at which it was actually sold. This definition of current saving would prevent an individual either from gaining tax exemption on realized capital gains or from financing new deposits with the Board by "dis-saving," that is, by the sale of assets he already owned.

It is rather more difficult to devise a scheme for encouraging business or coporate saving. Two possible solutions come to mind immediately: first, an increase in wear and tear allowances; second, the relief of retained profits from either income tax or corporations profits tax, or both. We shall examine each of these in turn, in the light of our main objective, namely, its effectiveness in bringing about an increase in the net current saving. The effects of an increase in wear and tear allowances are likely to be rather complex. We shall attempt to unravel them by taking a simple example, using rather arbitrary figures. Let us suppose that a firm earns a revenue of £100 in a year, and that the only costs chargeable to this revenue are wear and tear allowances at the existing rates amounting to £28. The firm's profit is then £100 *less* £28, or £72. We shall suppose that tax is levied on the whole of this sum at the rate of 5s. in the £. After tax is paid, the firm is left with £72 *less* £18, or £54. If in the firm's estimation a sum of £56 is necessary if its physical assets are to be maintained intact, then from this post-tax

profit of £54, a further £28 must be set aside as a reserve to supplement the £28 already allowed by the tax authorities. The sum then available for distribution as dividends and business saving—that is, the firm's net post-tax profit—is £54 *less* £28, or £26. If, now, the wear and tear allowances are doubled to reflect the current prices of capital assets, so that the full sum that the firm deems necessary, £56, is now deductable, the firm's published profit will be £100 *less* £56, or £44. When tax is deducted at 5s. in the £, the firm will be left with £44 *less* £11, or £33. The firm has gained by the amount of the tax saved on the increase in wear and tear allowances. The amount by which an individual firm would gain might be small, but in the aggregate the gains in net post-tax profits might be appreciable. There would be less danger of firms whose profits were relatively low consuming a part of their assets, that is, dis-saving. Further, the increase in net post-tax profit would enable either higher dividends to be paid, or permit a higher rate of business saving. In so far, however, as personal saving is exempted from income tax, there would be continuous pressure by shareholders to have dividends raised, and this would be exercised irrespective of whether wear and tear allowances were increased. If these allowances are kept at their current low levels, this pressure might cause corporate dis-saving. If they are increased, the pressure for higher dividends might reduce business saving. Total current saving in the economy would, however, probably be higher as a result of the higher post-tax profits, but its distribution would be altered in favour of personal savers. It is clear, then, that if our proposals for raising current saving by private persons are accepted, an increase in wear and tear allowances might raise total saving, but not necessarily corporate saving. If we accept that what matters is the level of current saving, and not who does the saving, then some upward revision in these allowances would be desirable. Some increase in them is, of course, desirable on other grounds than those on which we have based our arguments.

It could be argued, however, that the identity of the saver is not irrelevant from the point of view of maintaining and increasing the level of productive investment. Corporate saving is frequently made with the intention of using the proceeds to finance investment expenditure within the firm. Private saving, on the other hand, may have other objectives, and with it there is the additional problem of ensuring that such savings are made available to businesses. If this argument is accepted, and if wear and tear allowances are raised, then some relief is necessary to restore the relative attractiveness of business saving. This relief could be provided by applying the same exemptions to the net current saving of business enterprises as were suggested above for private saving. If a business deposited its undistributed profits with the National Investment Board, it would receive full exemption from income tax at the standard rate, if the monies remained there for five years. If they

were withdrawn before the end of the five years, tax would be deducted on the same sliding scale as that suggested for private persons. The extension of these reliefs to business firms might encourage dividend limitation. The management of the firms might wish to lower, or refrain from raising, dividends, and so increase undistributed profits in order to get the proposed reliefs. This would make no difference to shareholders who had planned to save any increase in their dividends. Shareholders who desired the higher dividends to finance an increase in their current consumption would "suffer" in the short-run, by being forced to save. Over the long-run, however, they would gain because of the increase in the value of the assets of the firm whose shares they own.

We have been wholly concerned so far with the *net* saving of firms, and have completely ignored the balances built up for depreciation. It is out of these balances that the firms will ultimately replace their existing physical assets. Any increase in wear and tear allowances will increase the size of these balances, *pro tanto*. If they are deposited with the National Investment Board, they cannot qualify for further tax relief, for they have already enjoyed relief as "cost." There is no reason, however, why firms should not be encouraged to deposit their depreciation allowances with the Board. By doing so, the funds at the disposal of the Board would be increased, and the firms would gain by the amount of the interest payments on their deposits.

LOUDEN RYAN

Comments on the Foregoing Article

No. 1—*by* ALEXANDER W. BAYNE

Managing Director, Irish Assurance Co., Ltd.

WE are embarked on a programme of reform and development which calls for capital expenditure on a very large scale and we must ensure that this programme does not generate economic forces which will not only prevent its own achievement but will strain and even wreck our national economy. Dr Louden Ryan's essay is a timely reminder that we are implicitly relying on current saving being adequate to finance our capital programme and that we have paid insufficient attention to the possibility that it may not be adequate.

Of the three possible methods listed by Dr Ryan as ways of financing our capital programme—current saving, external borrowing and external disinvestment—the first alone is the only method which is wholly under our control for as long as we may need to use it. It is the central thesis of his essay, new methods to improve current saving.

His proposals are, first, that there should be created a National Investment Board which should act as "an intermediary between those

who save and those who require finance for current investment expenditures " and, secondly, that deposits made with this Board for a minimum period of years should give rise to an equivalent income-tax relief. To a certain extent each of these proposals is necessary to and complementary to the other but, for the purposes of our analysis, we may treat them as mutually independent and consider them separately.

On the plan outlined the National Investment Board is expected to commit the technical offences of borrowing short on withdrawable deposits while investing long in equities, and of borrowing at fixed rates of interest while relying principally on dividends from its equity investments to meet the interest charges, but these are minor blemishes. I find myself completely out of sympathy with the proposal to set up a new specialized financial institution because I think we have enough of them already in this country and there is not enough business to justify any more. I know that it will be argued that none of the existing institutions discharges precisely the functions that would fall to the new National Investment Board. My own belief is that the Board, after spending a few years unprofitably trying to solve non-existent problems, would settle down to a modest future as an unimportant competitor with all the existing institutions.

But Dr Ryan's more revolutionary proposal is his second point, that current savings should give rise to an equivalent exemption from income-tax if deposited with the National Investment Board for a minimum period of years. We have already in our income-tax code a tax relief when income is applied in Life Assurance premiums (a relief, by the way, as old as income-tax itself) but, in general, tax relief does not arise because of the manner in which taxable income is spent or because it is not spent, and I think it improbable that any Minister for Finance will hearken to Dr Ryan's siren call to grant tax relief not merely to the income from, but to the capital of, new net savings. It is a matter of where the shoe pinches most. Every Minister for Finance looks on the income-tax as a great revenue-producing tax and may be counted on to view coldly any proposal calculated to reduce its yield—expecially one that begins by disembowelling it with a revolutionary new principle. On the other hand, no Minister for Finance has been seriously bothered by difficulties in raising long-term loans to the full extent necessary. To invite a Minister to endanger income-tax for the purpose of stimulating savings would probably seem to him allied to madness.

All the same there really is a problem of long-term capital in Ireland, and one caused by the State's own operations at that. At every point our programme of reform and development calls for capital expenditure to be financed by loans issued by the State (or by one of the statutory corporations which the State has established) and there are grave reasons for doubting whether the new savings currently being accumulated within the country are sufficient to subscribe these loans. It is important to

realize that it is the supply of new savings that counts because it is the curtailment of current expenditure to offset the expansion of capital expenditure which alone will rob the capital programme of its dangers of inflation and of disturbance to the balance of payments. Too frequently the remedy suggested by those who recognize the dangers of present trends is the abandonment or postponement of that programme of development and reform which has evoked the capital expenditure. But this is a counsel of despair and, for myself, I favour the simple, old-fashioned remedy of allowing interest rates to rise—in this case under the lead of the long-term rate offered on new issues by the Department of Finance. I recognize that this would result in an increase of the annual loan charges and, therefore, in the cost of government, both local and national. But the rise in cost will be much less than that which will follow a fourth or fifth round of post-inflationary adjustment and that, I fear, is inevitable if we do not get current saving up to the point necessary to finance our capital programme. On the other hand, a rise in interest rates will diminish current expenditure to an amount sufficient to offset, at least in part, the growth of capital expenditure, it will directly increase new savings and it will stem the outflow of funds seeking investment in the speculative favourites of the London Stock Exchange.

Unfortunately, we have worked ourselves into the dangerous position of allowing the rate of interest to become a political issue. A fall in the interest rate of each new Government loan as compared with its immediate predecessor is a political triumph and a rise, a political reverse. But this is nonsense. Do we not realize that the rightness or wrongness of the rate of interest can be judged only in the light of the current economic conditions and obligations and not in relation to those of a year or two, or a decade or two, before? We have accepted, as a nation, the programme of reform and development which is calling for these large-scale capital expenditures. Let us accept—equally as a nation—the financial and economic obligations and restrictions, unpleasant though they may be, which that policy demands of us—lest worse befall.

ALEXANDER W. BAYNE

No. 2—*by* JAMES F. MEENAN, M.A.

Lecturer in Economics, University College, Dublin

DR RYAN'S article is most timely. For the last ten years the need for investment has been dinned into our ears from all sides. The question of where the savings are to come from has rarely been examined with the same enthusiasm. For some years, it seemed that Marshall aid and the "repatriation" of foreign assets were expected to provide an adequate supply. Marshall aid has now become the American debt. The inherent virtue of "repatriation" is not at present so obvious as it might have appeared when we still enjoyed a sellers' market and Dr Dalton was

Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is now necessary to map the source of savings more closely. Again, we have come too close for comfort to the idea that investment is something that is done by the State. There has been little enough examination of the ultimate implications of State investment ; there has certainly been too little regard paid to the ways and means of private investment. It is therefore very useful to read a closely reasoned treatment of these matters.

I am not sure that the volume of private savings and investment in this country is so small as is often assumed. It can be under-rated because it does not always take the same forms as in other countries. Certainly, a deficiency should not be inferred from the business transacted on the Dublin Stock Exchange. Any slackness there can be attributed to the steady rise in London in the last eighteen months or so, and to the unknown degree in which purchases are made through London stock-brokers. More generally, it is probably true that the narrowness of the Dublin market discourages investment in Irish shares ; certainly the removal of this handicap seems to have made the National Loans more popular. But it is not easy to think of any instance in post-war years where any project has been discouraged by these difficulties from going to the public. And one must be impressed by the variety of ways in which such enterprises can get capital, besides the Stock Exchange there are the Industrial Credit Corporation, the Trade Loans Acts and the banks (who, as will be mentioned) play a larger part in these matters than is realized. Further it may be suggested that the typical unit in this country is still the small-scale or family business rather than the concern which obtains its capital, in larger amounts than the small enterprise would ever need, from public flotation.

It might prove that a body of the kind suggested by Dr Ryan would deal in practice with these smaller concerns. As such, it could do useful work. But I don't know that it would be appropriate to give it the status implied in a title such as the National Investment Board. To start with, we are already much too prone to seek institutional remedies for all our short-comings. It is not clear that a new institution would be generally welcome. In practice, it would require the good-will of the Minister for Finance, who is not likely to look with approval on a rival to his swollen demands on savings, let alone a rival that might divert savings from the Post Office Savings Banks. In regard to its composition, the Central Bank's functions do not bear directly on these matters ; while the two Credit companies, granted their constitution and their traditions, might not easily fit in.

That leaves the banks, and in fact it is the banks that, under any constitution, would be most closely concerned. An Investment Board accepting deposits on the lines suggested might well divert savings from the banks. That might seem an advantage to those who speak of ' money lying idle in the banks '. In fact, the ratio of bank advances to bank

deposits is exceptionally high here, much higher than in England. If deposits fell, advances would fall also. Moreover, it may be suspected that some proportion of bank advances nowadays are assuming the nature of long-term loans rather than short-term credits. This, if true, no doubt applies especially to small rather than to large concerns ; but it is true, one feels, that much activity that would be financed by flotations elsewhere is carried by bank credit here. To the degree in which that is true, a diversion of the channel of savings might not be useful to anybody.

But if some informal (at least at first) committee representing the banks acting together were to explore the problems outlined by Dr Ryan, I feel that there might be some advance. It would be possible for such a body, if it emerged, to cater for small-scale investment. It could act with a minimum of formality and with the best possible advice on credit-worthiness. Its success would of course depend on the energy with which it acted and on the willingness of borrowers, now free to go from one bank to another, to approach them acting jointly. But it might be better to start unpretentiously and to build up. Dr Ryan has defined the problem ; and there can be various ways of solving it.

In conclusion it is gratifying to note that he has stressed the true problem, which is that of encouraging savings. It is possible that we have been too quick to set up public bodies to look after this or that in the economy and that we have under-estimated the imponderables—confidence in the currency, the power and the will to save, the creation of a society in which people will be willing to back enterprise with their money. Dr Ryan's article is a useful corrective.

JAMES F. MEENAN

No. 3—*by* OWEN J. TOOLE

THE admirably clear and precise essay of Dr Ryan on the very real and pressing problems of investment in Ireland is of vital interest and concern to all those connected with the disposal of capital in this country.

The inherent contradiction in the opening paragraph of the article will not have escaped the author, but it is worthy of comment as it lies very closely to the problem of equity investment, not only in Ireland but throughout the free world. Can capital requirements be adequately met and encouraged, if ploughing back profits is carried out to such a degree that the return on the particular investment is no longer commensurate with the risk involved ? Taxation is, undoubtedly, the cause of such ploughing back—at the expense of shareholders—and could, under circumstances not difficult to foresee, ultimately lead to a complete stoppage of all sources of risk capital in a free economy.

Productive investment is often the rough path to choose in its early stages and its vital importance is too frequently overshadowed by its implications on the next election ; hence productive investment in its

true sense must not be expected from a Government which cannot be confident of its majority. The most that any democratic administration can do is to create the atmosphere in which free enterprise can be fairly and adequately encouraged.

Dr Ryan has placed his finger upon a very vital and profound truth in his reference to our national tendency of " robbing Peter to pay Paul ", with Peter being the son or grandson of Paul. This is something in our development as an economic unit that calls for hard thinking. It is, perhaps, a matter for the conscience as well as the pocket.

The question of our external balances has, unfortunately, been removed from the sphere of rational financial consideration to the arena of uninformed emotionalism. It is shown in its most logical aspects by Dr Ryan and should be widely publicized in this manner. Understanding of this is of vital importance to the future of the country.

Taxation is, of course, one of the main forces influencing the flow of capital. It should be noted that the points indicated here by Dr Ryan have been considered by the United States Treasury and in a certain measure, implemented in a recent American Finance Bill.

Speaking as an investment adviser, I can fully confirm the quotation of Dr Beddy's report. The lack of a free market in many Irish Industrial shares is a very great deterrent to the recommendation of them by financial advisers who take a serious view of their responsibilities to their clients.

Unfortunately, the proposed National Investment Board would, itself, suffer from many of the existing disabilities encountered by the individual investor. Some disadvantages one could itemize are :—

(i) The scarcity of sound and growing investments in the home market.

(ii) The poor market existing in such shares obtainable.

(iii) Ordinary shares in the existing Industrial Credit Company are available to the public and are by no means sought after—and it is a form of investment board.

(iv) A National Investment Board in the hands of an extreme socialist Government could be a disastrously dangerous weapon.

(v) No responsible Company would lend money to a National Investment Board unless it could be sure of a better rate of interest than the rate already obtainable from redeemable Government Stocks.

(vi) How could a National Investment Board pay such a rate of Interest unless it invested in fairly speculative Ordinary Shares and holding such Shares, how could it undertake to repay at any given time ? (The Government Stock would generally be the more attractive proposition with its fixed redemption date).

The psychology of the average investor in industrial equities is generally misunderstood. It has undergone a marked change in the last

25 years under the impact of staggering taxation. The question of yield is no longer pre-eminent ; it has been notably replaced by a demand for the preservation of capital against a depreciation of money. In other words, the actual value of a share must steadily increase in order to hold its own with falling money values. The equity investor should, therefore, search for shares in companies with a definite element of expansion.

The position of the investor in trustee stocks is becoming more and more invidious and it is true to say that the holder of a trustee stock, redeemable at its nominal value in 25 years time will almost inevitably loose a substantial part of his money through currency depreciation during that period.

The issue of preference shares is, in my opinion, becoming an antiquated and altogether unsuitable form of finance when applied to the flotation of a new company, if viewed from the point of view of the investor. The fixed rate of interest provides no protection against inflation. Should the company experience difficulties it is often the rule that the preference shareholder has his dividend reduced. Should the Company prosper greatly, the preference shareholder benefits only to the extent of his fixed rate of interest. In its application to a new company, the preference shareholder is in the position of receiving all the kicks and none of the halfpence.

I fear that the question of Taxation Rebate in relation solely to a National Investment Board would raise a mighty outcry on the point of discrimination, though the idea of the rebate is intrinsically sound. The question of increased wear and tear allowances lies deeply at the heart of industrial development and will have to be faced some day.

The point made that a firm might tend to increase its proportion of undistributed profits has again to be considered in the light of the shareholder. It is essential for any trading Company to maintain a correct balance between distributed and undistributed profits. The modern shareholder is surprisingly well informed in these matters and will rapidly desert a concern which refuses to distribute a reasonable degree of its profits to its risk-bearing proprietors.

I fear that the problem of Irish industrial development cannot be solved by a National Investment Board without a dangerous sacrifice of that freedom which is an absolute essential to the healthy development of modern industry. I might almost go so far as to say that a National Investment Board would only function in the morally pernicious atmosphere to be found east of the Iron Curtain and even there, it is only a poor substitute for the natural energy of free initiative.

The decision to be faced by this country in the future must be to decide which of our industries are the natural complement to our development, with constant mindfulness of our natural resources. I cannot help feeling that we have strayed a long way from this path.

Owen J. Toole

Spaniards on Spain

by DESMOND FENNELL, M.A.

THOSE who emerged in 1939 to take over the leadership of a new and very silent Spain were for the greater part " new men." From their ranks came the most recent generation of Spanish writers. The famous *Generación del* '98 set the fashion of referring to successive phases of Spanish intellectual history in terms of generations. The impassioned and " bitter " patriotism of Unamuno, Maeztu, Baroja, Machado and Azorín, the prototypes of this early group, was superseded by what has been called the *generación del* '15. These were the *europeístas*, whose chief was Ortega y Gassett and whose other leading figures were Marañón, d'Ors, Pérez de Ayala, Madariaga and Herrera. Then came the ideologically confused and increasingly discordant generations of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the Republic, which went through their test by fire in the Civil War.

It is with the " new " generation and those who followed them into public life in the latter half of the forties, that I am concerned here ; men at present all of them between twenty-five and forty-five years of age. Some of them founded the monthly journal *Arbor* in 1944, and since then nearly all the leading figures of the generation have contributed to its pages. Its character as a journal is that of *Studies*. Last year *Arbor* published in a volume of nearly eight hundred pages a chronologically arranged collection of articles on the history and present destinies of Spain which have appeared in its successive numbers since 1944.[1] As a matter of fact, the greater number of the studies thus republished appeared for the first time in the years 1947—1952.

There are two groups of these writings which are of special value for the right understanding of Spain to-day—those dealing with the Golden Age and Decadence and those concerned with the recent history, the historic individuality and the immediate destiny of Spain. I hope to make clear the intimate connection between them. The writings are almost entirely by men of the post-Civil War generation, all of them university men, most of them professional historians. Almost all of them are—or until recently were—connected in some capacity or other with the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas,* the directive body in Spanish intellectual life, which was set up in 1942.

[1] Historia de España, Estudios publicados en la Revista *Arbor*, Madrid, 1953.

Vicente Palacio Atard (Valladolid) writes of the immediate task of Spanish historiography :

> The problem of the two Spains derived from our country's historical failure. After our defeat in the seventeenth century, Spaniards were confronted with their History. Since then, the history of Spain has had two diametrically opposed meanings for us. To our history went one side or the other in search of solutions for the questions of the moment ; some in search of nostalgic restorations, others in the illusory hope of cutting themselves off from the past. Both pretensions were impossible since they were attempting something absurd. The history of Spain, understood in two opposed fashions, has divided Spaniards for the last three centuries. The problem of the two Spains is, therefore, capable of being defined historically. It must have a possible terminal limit in time. We will reach that final moment when a history of Spain is written that is valid for all Spaniards. That gives rise to a new question : Is it possible to think of such a history ? My answer is affirmative. (*Arbor* volume, p. 733).

Pedro Laín Entralgo, Rector of Madrid University (from whom two studies are included in the *Arbor* volume), wrote elsewhere[1] of the men who emerged with him into public life immediately after the Civil War :

> Three beliefs make up the suppositions underlying their attitude towards the problem of Spain ; the Catholic faith, the belief that Spain is truest to herself when acting in the tradition of that faith, and the belief that Spain can, following that tradition, give a clear lead to the world.

As the smell of the battlefields was wafted away and principles had to prove themselves in everyday realities, these three basic beliefs took a more concrete form in explicit affirmations :

> The necessity of solving in the field of thought the unresolved polemic between anti-traditional progressivism and a traditionalism either outmoded or denying the present. The necessity of guarantees for political self-determination and social justice. The necessity of distinguishing in Spanish life, with extreme care, between what is permanent and what allows of change ; the former being constituted by the Catholic interpretation of existence, the unity of Spain and her political and economic liberty, an effective respect for the dignity of the human person, attention to social justice and, finally, certain essential habits, among them being the language. The necessity of being faithful unto death to the essential things, while regarding with detachment all that is accessory. The

[1] Expaffia como Problema. Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, Madrid, 1949. (Quoted by Pérez Embid, *Arbor* volume, pp. 688—89).

> necessity of being original in the expression of what is permanent . . . And the necessity of living with our two feet in universal history and with a hatred for nationalist fetishes.

Pérez Embid, commenting in 1949 on this affirmation of principles, reminds us that there were some among the " grandsons of '98," who reached majority with Laín Entralgo after 1939, but who would not have accepted such principles without substantial modifications.

> And nevertheless, he [Laín Entralgo] is entirely right in supposing and affirming that he does not stand alone when he enunciates these principles. Along with some other things, the general lines of this attitude have acquired in these last years a widely diffused validity, which constitutes nothing less than a considerable subsoil of unity for the present moment of our culture . . . (*Arbor* volume, p. 688).

These quotations from Palacio Atard and Laín Entralgo may serve to make clear certain underlying principles and presuppositions of these writings. It is essential to understand that in the present " silence " in Spanish internal politics and in face of a still-to-be-met transition from a temporary regime to more permanent political forms, these young intellectual leaders of present-day Spain play a double role. On the one hand, they are university men, devoted to their academic pursuits. On the other, they are Spanish intellectuals and political theorists, deeply concerned about their country's future. If the profound difference of their ideology and their substantial loyalty to the present regime be left out of account, their role might be compared to that of the intellectuals, who under Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, and in opposition, prepared the way for what has been called " *la República de profesores.*"

The period of Spanish history from Fernando el Católico to the Peace of Westphalia is of prime interest to Spaniards for a number of reasons. In the case of these modern Spanish intellectuals—in their two roles of historians and practical thinkers—these reasons are :

1. The period includes the foundation of the national state by Fernando el Católico ;

2. the beginning of the great overseas expansion ;

3. the most glorious development of Spanish culture in all its branches ;

4. the first emergence of Spain on to the broad field of European politics ;

5. the origins (principally in England and France) of the " Black Legend " about Spain which has pursued her ever since and haunts every Spaniard as an ugly Presence ;

6. the onset of that decline which has coloured all modern Spanish history ;

7. the defeat, symbolized by the Treaty of Westphalia, of the kind of Europe which Spain stood for ; and, as corollaries, the departure of Spain from the European scene and the beginning of her spiritual estrangement ;

8. lastly, there is the firm decision (be it declared or implied) of this generation to take up again the threads of the seventeenth century and continue where it left off. We will come back to this point later.

The entire period is covered in the outstanding synthetic study of José María Jover (Valencia) " The High Modern Age." Three of the points he makes (exposed at length in his essay) form a thought-provoking sequence, if we look at them together.

1. Fernando el Católico founded in Spain a state that united modernity with traditional Catholicism.

> Technically, Fernando achieves the establishment of a modern state, in accordance with the late medieval currents of which France had been, if not the initiator, at least the defender in the sphere of political theory, and the executor, thanks to Louis XI, in the practical sphere. But in Fernando el Católico lives on vigorously the Catholic tradition of the medieval Spanish kingdoms. (p. 208).

2. A series of unforseeable fortunes, culminating in the election of Charles V as Emperor, interrupts this development and weds the destinies of Spain to a resurrected and essentially medieval ideal.

> What is certain is that Charles cuts short the promising reality of that *modern Catholic state*, laboriously built up by the politic Don Fernando. (p. 209).

The sequence of these propositions in Jover's essay is interesting in view of what amounts to a commonplace thesis of modern Spanish historians that the Peace of Westphalia represented the definitive defeat of one of the *two possible* European modernities—the " Spanish " ideal of *universitas christiana* by the revolutionary modernity incarnate in the national state, the balance of power, individualism and the *raison d'état.* It gives rise to such questions (not answered in these essays) as : What was in fact the Spanish Catholic version of modernity—the national modern state created by Fernando el Católico or the *universitas christiana,*

which a combination of circumstances almost forced upon Charles V as a political idea and which was defended with filial devotion, as a precious heirloom, by his Spanish heirs? Was Charles V, who fought for a medieval ideal among modern realities, himself a medieval or a modern?

3. The decisive influence in Charles's political ideals is to be found in his "hispanización"—his hispanization.

It did not come from the imperial tradition of the Hapsburgs, who —except for the Roman dream of Henry VII—had made terms with modernity and were busily consolidating their family territories and building up a German Slav empire. Neither was Gattinara—a Ghibelline in the tradition of Dante—the decisive influence. Charles V's ideal of *universitas christiana* was a fruit—in its offensive aspect, against the Moslems—of the living Spanish crusading tradition and—in the realm of political theory—of the jurists of the Spanish Renaissance, principally Fray Antonio de Guevara.

A small part of these historical writings, while purporting to be "historical," is so shot through with apologetic and practical zeal as to become in fact, unsatisfactory. A book by Palacio Atard,[1] reviewed in an essay by Juan Sánchez Montes (Granada), is an example of this. When writing on the "Decadence" of Spain—a theme of constant actuality in subsequent Spanish history—it is, of course, understandably difficult for a Spanish historian to be clinically dispassionate. Palacio Atard's book examines capably and thoroughly the causes of Spanish decadence—economic mismanagement, declining industry and agriculture, lack of a maritime awareness on the part of the central government, finally, moral discouragement. But the necessity of refuting interpretations read into the decline by historians of the "other Spain" sometimes drives him into adopting attitudes more becoming to a self-righteous political polemist than to a historian. Referring to a theory of Pidal's concerning the "two Spains," Palacio Atard replies:

> We know only one Spain. The world knows only one. The only possible Spain . . . . That Spain of a definite personality, which has been able to live in the midst of modern Europe without contaminating itself with modernity, even though it be crossed by railways and chockfull of laboratories. (pp. 179—80).

Or again:

> We have been accused of "anti-Europeanism", we who ruined and bled ourselves for Europe, we who have thrown ourselves not only into

[1] Derrota, agotamiento y decadencia en la España del siglo XVII. Madrid, Rialp, 1949.

> Europe and America but into the whole world. Yes, we live isolated from modern Europe, from what is lightly said to be Europe. Because Spain remains true to herself and because our absolute values are not in decay, but are more valuable to-day than ever. (p.193).

Under the heading " The liberal century," two hundred pages are devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Suárez Verdeguer begins by setting the scene :

> The different epochs of Spanish history are very unequally known and, though on a first impression it may appear paradoxical, the least known of all is the nineteenth century. (p. 471).

For the nineteenth century there is in fact no " logical sequence of the facts " to give them meaning. If there is any meaning,

> . . . it is hidden and befogged by an endless list of ministers and ministries, of generals and captains, of pronunciamientos, mutinies and riots, trivial and incomprehensible revolutions, parties and intrigues. It seems like a confused chaos of facts with no more connection than their succession, with no other *raison d'être* than the immediate cause which provokes, without originating, them. Whoever looks at this piece of Spanish life is bewildered . . . . amazed by a century in a condition of constant unstable equilibrium. Is the Spanish nineteenth century just this and nothing more? (p. 471).

Suárez Verdeguer believes that it is something more and he has gone in search of the hidden meaning and cohesion by devoting himself to the examination of the ideological roots of the century in the Revolution years, the Fernandine reaction and the liberal triumph of 1833. Working on a period which up to the present has served mainly for party-propaganda purpose, he seeks to find clear paths. His investigations of the political turmoil of the Napoleonic years show that all enlightened political opinion was in irreconcilable opposition to the old regime, symbolized by Charles IV and his minister, Godoy. But this opinion was sharply divided as to the necessary reform. On the one hand were the liberals, sons of the *Illustración,* believing in the new political forms of the French Revolution ; on the other hand, the realists, calling for the restoration of the traditional political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, still in force *de jure*—since it had not been abrogated—but *de facto* superseded behind its back, as it were, by a ministerial governing power, which acted as if it had no existence. The former called their enemy " absolutism," the latter " ministerial despotism." Thus does the commonplace juxtaposition of liberals and reactionaries (so frequent in English textbooks) transform itself into the juxtaposition of the Ancient

Regime—" pure inertia," Suárez calls it—and the two mutually opposed reforming forces, liberal and realist.

> The Ancient Regime fell and both [these forces] lived on and continued their struggle to fashion the new world. (p. 477).

The fortunes of that struggle in its initial stages are what Suárez Verdeguer examines—the true nature of the realist (later Carlist) programme after 1814, the true composition of the so-called reactionary group around Fernando VII after 1823 (in view of the apparently contradictory fact that Fernando within eight years had passed over the power liberals) ; the extent of popular support for the Carlists in the first Carlist war and the reasons for their defeat ; in short, the fascinating irony of a political development, which allowed those same revolutionary ideas against which Spain had fought as one man, to take over in a matter of twenty years the government of the country.

José María García Escudero writes on Maura, the Dictatorship and the Abdication, events which constitute the historical yesterday for present-day Spaniards. His book *De Cánovas a la República*, a balanced, well-written and reflective interpretation along broad lines of Spanish history from 1874 to 1936, is fundamental for the understanding of Spain to-day. For this reason—and also because it is in large measure representative of the interpretation which the *Arbor* generation give to their immediate past—it is perhaps worthwhile summarizing it, after a manner, in ten points.

The Introduction begins :

> Three quarters of a century ago, in 1874, Spaniards tried to solve their political problems by turning their backs on a civil war ; fifteen years ago, in 1936, we Spaniards sought the way out from our political problems in a civil war. I try to investigate in this book why, despite the first, the second came, at the end of a story which begins with Cánovas and ends with the last Spanish Republic.

That is to say :

1. Cánovas, faced with the unsolved problem of the two Spains, sought a solution in the middle-way Restoration constitution of 1876. His political skill made it possible to postpone the Civil War fifty years.

2. The liberal constitution was from the beginning basically unsuited to the Spanish character, giving free rein to its negative and no scope to its positive qualities.

3. The success of a party-system on the English model (Cánovas' ambition, which he achieved for a period), was undermined by the lack of a spirit of co-operation ; more concretely, by the systematic treachery of the constitutional left to the unconstitutional left, *i.e.*, of liberals to republicans and socialists.

4. The regime was the preserve of a ruling class, lacked popular adhesion, had no social policy and provided no national ideal.

5. The unconstitutional right—the inheritors of the Carlist tradition —sinned by remaining unconstitutional, that is by their sulking abstention. While they accumulated rancours and engaged in scholastic disputes among themselves, the socialists gained a great mass of the urban workers and the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza,* free-thinking, formed *extranjerizante* (foreignising), anti-Catholic intellectual generations, who had no competitors for the intellectual leadership of Spain.

6. The regime might have been saved and transformed, if Alfonso XIII had decided to govern or had allowed Maura to do so. But, as a convinced liberal, he would not govern himself, and his policy of disarming opposition by giving way to it, prevented his supporting Maura.

7. Primo de Rivera could have saved the regime if he had been more astute, if he had not been so apologetic—obsessed, as he was, by the temporary nature of his rule—and if the intellectuals had not been against him. Even at that, he might have saved it if he had used his dictatorship to attract the young and to form a permanent party. As it was, he only served to retard the Republic eight years.

8. By 1931 Alfonso XIII was a monarch without monarchists. The vast majority of thinking people of all political hues looked with hope towards a Republic, or were prepared to vote for a Republic in order to spite the monarch. (Many were to be disillusioned within a few years).

9. Under the Republic the principle of betrayal towards the left continued, the republican left bringing in the socialists and the socialist left, the communists.

10. The break-down of order, the crimes against religion and the refusal to play fair with the Catholic *ralliement* under Gil Robles, provoked the Civil War. The lead was given by the Army, but it was really a popular uprising, its hard core being the successors of the Carlist rural masses of the nineteenth century wars.

Laín Entralgo—an authority on the subject—and Calvo Serer have essays on the " Generation of '98." They deal first of all with what they were, what they thought and what they wanted—Unamuno, Baroja, Azorín, Machado, Maeztu, those Spainards who reached man's estate as the last outposts of the overseas empire succumbed to a " nation of shopkeepers." Growing up in a Spain devoid of ideals and breathing defeat, paralysed by the unresolved dilemma of stagnant reaction and imported modernism, they had a passionate love for Spain and a hatred of what they saw around them. Criticising both sides and seeking in history the Spain they longed for, they rejected, on the one hand, the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Tir na nOg of the traditionalists), and on the other hand, the eighteenth century (crystal fountain of the modernists), and found it in the clear, uncontaminated air of the Spanish Middle Ages. At first, there were some of them who would solve Spain's immediate problems by opening the windows to Europe. Later, however, they accepted the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as representing in history Spain's true, essentially spiritual mission. Men of the geographical perimeter as they were, they came to find in the barren beauty of the Castilian landscape and the ardour of the Castilian spirit, that inner essence of Spain which the transcendental figure of Don Quijote personified for them in literature ; and they dreamt of Spain's new spiritual mission to the world and of the third sallying forth of Don Quijote.

After this manner did the men of '98 think and will in their day. Apart from the undisputed literary value of their work, what is their significance for Spaniards to-day ? For their love of Spain, their deep inquietude—their *dolor de España*—, for their yearnings after perfection and their protest against mediocrity, they are rendered a full measure of admiration. But their tendency to judge Catholicism harshly on account of the actions of some Catholics and the uncertain relations to Catholic orthodoxy of some of them—Unamuno, " the Spanish Luther " —prevent their being a direct and living influence on a generation for whom Catholic orthodoxy is a first principle. The fact that by their criticism, sometimes consciously, but mainly unconsciously, they fed ammunition to the batteries of the " anti-Spanish " and subversive forces and that, moreover, they put their faith in the Republic, which the Civil War overthrew, makes them invalid as mentors for a generation whose faces are turned with a firm " Never again ! " to all that the " Liberal Century " and the Republic stood for.

Only Maeztu, by his later " conversion " to Catholic orthodoxy and the national ideal, represents a bridge between '98 and " our times."

> When it is a question of diagnosing and remaking that Spain which they describe to us so vigorously, they get no further than the elaboration of myths, and among them, only Maeztu was able to free himself from the aestheticism and anarchic criticism which made the others socially and politically sterile. (Calvo Serer, p. 608).

The essays towards the end of the volume are of a more general nature. They seek to find out from Spanish history what Spain really is and they search in the same history for signposts to the present and future action of Spain. They share in large measure, a common spirit and coincide in many points of detail. For good or for ill, they represent the most living thought in Spain to-day and the bases for philosophies of life and politics which stand a chance of guiding Spain's immediate future.

These writings are characterized by a confidence and serenity that are, however, far from being complacent. They are tense with the urge to action. The intellect is water-carrier to the will. Their practical understanding of history has its focal point in the seventeenth century, where they see a clear parting of the ways between what were still in the sixteenth century two possible European " modernities." On the one hand, upheld by Spain, was the traditionalist project, representing the conservation of the " fundamental elements of the medieval order, while admitting the supersession of all those elements capable of being superseded." (Palacio Atard, p. 723). On the other hand was the " revolutionary " project, individualist, anti-Catholic. Its stages of development—indeed of the genesis of modern Europe—are seen in the " paganising Renaissance," the Reformation, " seventeenth century classicism " and the " culture of the Enlightenment." (Would Irish historians to-day accept this genealogy of modern Europe ?) But the Spanish " project of a post-Renaissance Christendom " (Laín Entralgo), although defeated materially and thereafter appearing as reactionary and wayward in face of the triumph of the Germanic and Protestant peoples, maintained its validity and maintains it. It seems to hold precisely those elements which the disintegrating European culture of to-day needs for its renewal. (Francisco de Ayala, quoted by Palacio Atard, p. 724).

> The parenthesis which was opened in Westphalia in 1648 is precisely what we are closing now,

wrote Pérez Embid in 1948.

> Westphalia : the first result of the clash between the Spanish conception of Europe . . . . and the growing force of European modernity. 1948 : the overcoming on the scientific plain of the inferiority complex of Spain towards modern Europe and—in view of the general collapse of the liberal idea in Europe—a new topicality for the universal validity of the principles defenced by Spain up to Westphalia. (p.689).

But their determination to return to the seventeenth century in order to find the true Spanish tradition, the source of a new era of present and future greatness and the basis for uniting all Spaniards, does not mean turning the clock back. It means, says Pérez Embid,

> finding again the main lines of a historical conduct faithfully deduced from the Spanish essence . . . . Enemies of all *casticismo* (narrow Spanish traditionalism), we are not going to fall into the historical naiveté of ignoring utterly that part of our past which we find unpleasant. Reckoning with it, evaluating it and acknowledging it as our own are indispensable conditions for—by means of its redemption—surpassing it.

The wasted nineteenth century, however, weighs heavily on their minds. It was lost in internal division and overseas disasters, which were met at home by " bombastic *casticismo* and inferiority complex." (Pérez Embid, p. 689). There is a firm refusal to traffic again in any way with " the ideas which rule the liberal world established in great part after the European revolution of 1848." Spain's new way must be equidistant from " anti-traditional progressivism " and a reactionary attitude which denies the present.

The old error of excessive centralization on the French model, cause of so much trouble in recent Spanish history, must not be committed again. The various regions of Spain must be allowed develop each its own individuality, within the frame of national unity.

To seek national unity on an anti-liberal basis is not, however, considered to be sufficient. On the positive side, these intellectuals give proof of an attitude of sympathy and understanding—if also of disapproval—towards the " other Spain," as manifested in Spain's immediate and less immediate past. There is readiness to judge those " other " Spaniards by the intentions which inspired their conduct rather than by the effects of their actions as seen from the viewpoint of to-day. This is a quality of tolerance in which the Spanish character has hitherto not been strong.

There is at the same time a remarkable unanimity in proclaiming Menéndez y Pelayo as the mentor and spiritual guide of the present intellectual movement. Pérez Embid, as secretary of *Arbor,* unequivocally avows the journal's fidelity to what Menénez y Pelayo stood for, quite alone, in times that were unpropitious. (p. 691).

There is a similar unanimity that the first task of Spain to-day beyond her own frontiers, is the building up of a close spiritual and cultural union with Spanish America.

The view which these writers hold of contemporary Europe is extremely pessimistic and they are, on the other hand, equally optimistic, with a buoyant, juvenile optimism, when they speak of Spain's mission to the modern world. It is the thought of the possible success of such a mission that leaves them with a final balance of hope.

> We know that the dialectic of History does not lead fatalistically to catastrophe. Rather, on the contrary, the irruption of the action of spirit can save a culture, renewing its creative forces. (Calvo Serer, p. 765).

Referring to Spain's role, he writes :

> Our point of departure is considerably superior to that of the rest of Europe in the cultural sphere, although we are in an inferior position from an economic point of view. (p. 619).
>
> Since the World War the Anglo-Saxon nations have lost their aggressive optimism, which led them to despise the Latins. Protestantism is passing through a phase of extreme debilitation . . . . Reformation

> and Renaissance are considered to-day in a very different light from what was customary a century ago. Spanish history thus begins to acquire its proper relief and significance. (p. 618)

But they do not believe that Spain can make herself alone. All the writers mention her great backwardness in technology and in nearly all fields of learning.

> We must live wide-awake, alert, knowing all the efforts made in the domain of mind. We must assimilate everything valuable which is produced or attempted, in order to make of it our own substance ; and we, on our part, must make our own contributions. (Calvo Serer, p. 617)

Pérez Embid resolves the old conflict between European and Spanish tradition with the formula : " Hispanization of the ends and Europeanisation of the means."

It is difficult for a people with a " crusading " history and a sense of mission such as Spain has, to talk with ordinary European mortals on an equal footing and without giving offence. The history of the Spanish Catholic nation has, by a varied series of historical circumstances, been almost continuously coincident with what Spaniards sincerely believe to have been the defence of the best interests of Christianity against the infidel ; reconquest of the national territory (Crusade against the Moors), expansion in the Mediterranean (Crusade against the Turks), conquest of an overseas empire (evangelisation of the heathen), the dynastic interests of the Austrias (Crusade against the heretics), the war against Dutch nationalism (attempt to exterminate heresy), defeat in the Thirty Years' War (self-sacrifice for Christendom), war of independence against Napoleon (Crusade against the godless revolutionaries), civil war of 1936—39 (Crusade against liberalism, socialism and communism—all enemies of Christianity). It is difficult for the inheritor of such a tradition to believe that there are many shades between black and white and that God speaks other languages besides Castilian. Even these writers, consciously fighting against such a self-damaging attitude, do not always escape it. In a general essay on the history of Spain written by Calvo Serer in 1945, before he left to spend several years in different parts of Europe, there occurs the following passage :

> In the oscillation of the cultural pendulum, what is Christian is sometimes rejected, and with it, what is Spanish, because of its identification with Catholicity ; hence it is that inside modern culture, Spanish culture follows the process of Christianity ; the esteem or disesteem of the latter implies the esteem or disesteem of Spain. (p. 2)

Calvo Serer would hardly express himself in this way to-day. Elsewhere, Palacio Atard, writing of Europe's present plight—" Europe "

always in juxtaposition to " Spain "—as the inheritor of revolution tells her that she will only find true peace by making " a profound act of contrition and an efficacious amendment of her conduct." (p. 300)

Pérez Embid, while (as we have seen above), an enthusiast of Spain's new mission, is fully aware of the risks involved—" a petulant messianism and the confusion in practice of the religious with the socio-political spheres." (p. 751)

Disclaiming allegiance to any party-tradition inside Spain, he writes :

> Since we are, as we now are, in the one straight line of the only possible Spain, we feel ourselves enemies as much of the ideological monstrosities of the vanquished [in the Civil War] as of the weaknesses or Pharisaisms of many of those who happened to be included among the victors. For us, the sun warms from very high up, from much higher up than the History of Spain. In the moment of entering the lists, perhaps this is our most certain good fortune. (p. 697)

That what used to be called " the Problem of Spain " no longer exists to sear the soul of an Unamuno, appears to be generally agreed upon. " The Problem " has been solved, they say, but Spaniards are faced with many problems.

> Problems of our relations with a world which wants to pull us into the abyss of its often stupid apathy . . . . [the creation of] firm institutions ; problems of industrialisation and economic reconstruction ; problems of social organisation ; . . . . problems of the establishment of new educational institutions. (Calvo Serer, p. 765)

The *Arbor* writers believe that they are making use of a valuable interim period in internal politics in order to generate an intellectual atmosphere favourable to the creation of new political and social institutions in the spirit of Spain's national and Catholic tradition ; they do not, as a rule, go further. Calvo Serer is an exception. His political theory and that of the intellectuals who support him, is one of the two or three political theories which in Spain to-day are seeking to form the future. The most vocal of the other political tendencies is, of course, the Falange. But it is no longer real to speak of it as a doctrinal unit. There are instead two tendencies : the right wing or Falange Old Guard, holding firm to the *Führerprinzip* and the fascist doctrine of José Antonio Primo de Rivera ; and the left wing—to which such prominent figures as Pedro Laín Entralgo, Antonio Tovar, Rector of Salamanca University, and the Education Minister, Ruíz Giménez belong—of republican leanings. The position of Laín Entralgo on the Falangist Left shows that the existence of a common philosophy of history among *Arbor* writers does not exclude divergences when deductions are made on the field of practical politics.

Calvo Serer's political theory is mainly contained in his book *Teoría de la Restauración*, published in 1952. One sentence in the *Arbor* volume however, is almost a resumé of his views. He writes of

> the new national and universal value of the political doctrine of the Spanish tradition. A monarchy without courtiers, but traditional, hereditary, anti-parliamentary and decentralised. (p. 764).

If we add to this what we find in his book—that the new monarchy will take a line *beyond* reaction and revolution and that its social policy will be its main titledeed—we see that the proposed restoration will be a combination of a king of the line which the Carlists fought against, with the political doctrine of the Carlists, the social conscience of the twentieth century and a tradition of political thought beginning with Burke and Görres and reaching in our day to Peter Wust and Charles Maurras.

I have tried, with a minimum of comment, to give a picture of how these Spanish historians, prominent among their generation and representative of it, see their country's past. In some cases it has been useful and necessary to give an account of how they view Spain and the world to-day. In general, they are successful—more successful than their Spanish predecessors have ever been—in preventing their wish and intent for the present from marring their historian's vision of the past.

DESMOND FENNELL

NOTE :—It appears that until conditions in Spain have changed considerably, such historians as are also political theorists will not find it easy to translate their ideas into practice. Since the publication of the *Arbor* history volume, the political theory put forward in the writings of Calvo Serer and others has attempted to rear its head outside the pale of the academic domain and has clashed with the forces of the everyday political reality. An article by Calvo Serer published in *Ecrits de Paris* had repercussions in Madrid which led to ministerial decrees removing Calvo Serer from his editorship of *Arbor* and from his other posts under the Consejo Superior. Some of his intellectual " accomplices " suffered similar fates. The article in the Paris publication was a severe criticism of the Regime—the " nihilism " of government in the years 1945—52, the allegedly dangerous cultural policy being pursued by the coalition of Falangist Left and Christian Democrats, dominant in the sphere of government since 1952—and at the same time, a demand for power and a general statement of programme by Calvo Serer and his friends, whom he chose to describe as the " Third force " in Spanish politics. *Arbor* continues to appear but it has fallen on precarious days. The Minister Ruíz Giménez appointed trusty men in place of those whom he had removed and they watch that the journal begets no more unacademic ideas. Most of the best among its former contributors have withdrawn their collaboration.

D. F.

Germany in Prospect

RECENT IMPRESSIONS

by JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

THE London conference of the nine Powers which met towards the close of September of this year, owed its striking success, in the main, o the guarantee given by Mr, now Sir Anthony, Eden on behalf of he government of Britain. This was to the effect that Britain would naintain 100,000 men, with a tactical air force, on the Continent for ifty years and would not withdraw them, except in case of " acute verseas emergency ", without the agreement and authorization of he other Powers concerned. In this manner the return of Britain o the Continent has been made concrete. Britain has accepted her tatus and responsibilities as a Continental Power. The direction hat English policies gradually adopted from the sixteenth century has een, at least in part, reversed. And if this reversal has taken place nder the grim necessity of Franco-German rapprochement, it is none he less a genuine change of policy and mind. For it is a recognition hat the defence of Britain is a Continental affair, and that the defence f Western Europe is a supreme British interest. And there underlies it lso the acknowledgment that the West European countries which must e brought together in mutual defence are defending mutual interests nd, what is more, a mutual outlook. The vast technical developments f the past thirty years have shrunk the world, as it was then envisaged ; hey have forced neighbouring States into closer contact with one nother ; they have at last opened European eyes to the dangers and o the reality of Europe.

And so we may hope that we have come to the end of those debates bout the E.D.C. or European Defence Community. The note of *ommunity* will be less emphasized in the new scheme : there is no longer o be a properly *European* army. The impulse towards a federation of Vestern Europe countries has been slackened, and to that extent the uropean idea has suffered a set-back. But the new system may prove ar more workable. More direct British participation will lessen the rench feeling of insecurity and encourage the considerable elements ithin the German Federal Republic that desire German co-operation ith other countries rather than a reborn national army. Once Ger- nany, with Italy, is brought into the framework of the Brussels Pact nd made a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the tructure of Western security will be firmer and more coherent. With

this, the Federal Republic will attain a status of full sovereignty, and the obligations it will assume towards other Western Powers will be those of a sovereign government.

GERMANY IN 1954

The visitor to Western Germany in 1954 is inevitably impressed by what has come to be known as *das deutsche Wunder*, the marvel of revival and reconstruction. There is a most striking contrast between the chaos and defeatism of the immediately post-war years and the buoyant optimism which abounds to-day. Behind it, of course, lies the German power of work. They have built and are building, day and night ; night and day, they continue working. Nor is the expression " night and day " mere rhetoric : for I have seen them, and more than once, building by arc lamp at nine or ten in the evening, slung high up in builders' cradles. They have had the universal determination, almost unbroken by industrial disputes, to raise their cities out of the dust and rubble ; to find employment for millions of war victims and refugees ; to seek a remedy for their sense of hopelessness and insecurity in incessant work. Their success has been indeed remarkable.

A walk through the centre of Munich, particularly to the South of the Rathaus and the central thoroughfares, is like a dockyard visit. To either side of you are cranes and derricks and machines for mixing concrete : motors are purring, machines are creaking and clanging, the air is laden with dust and grit. Yet, in the midst of this symphony of grinding metal, shops are open and stalls display their wares in the streets. Round the cathedral at Cologne there are still vast, empty spaces : but here the rubble has been removed, and what was once a maze of gabled houses, along narrowly winding alleys, is now a station for coaches and a park for cars. In Bonn, a new suburb is growing along the Rhine, with whitefronted government buildings, among them the new German Parliament. Seen from the river, with its graceful white facade, it is more reminiscent of a country club and restaurant than a political assembly. I was much impressed by some of the repaired and reconstructed churches. That of St Michael in Munich, for instance, has been completely remodelled, so brightly and so tastefully that most of the *Münchener* prefer it to the more flamboyant original. Inside the main doors have been erected what I have never seen before in a church : huge plate-glass inner doors that rise up to the balcony of the organ loft and choir—a startling sight for the moment, but giving a clarity and atmosphere that enhance the colour and detail of the decoration. Gone, maybe, is the dim, religious light but then that never did harmonize with the Baroque.

The West German achievement since 1949 must not be computed merely in terms of industrial recovery and of building. Millions of

refugees have been absorbed into the West German economy, at the cost of immense effort and who can tell what sacrifice. Take 1952 as a test example. In that year Western Germany was giving public assistance to as much as one-fourth of its population. Thirteen million people were being aided as war victims, pensioners, refugees or unemployed. To this purpose was devoted twenty-two per cent. of the total national income, in addition to large sums disbursed by local authorities. Pensions were paid to the families of three and a half million killed in the war and of a further two million maimed. To render this possible, very substantial taxes had to be imposed : for instance, levies on those whose property was intact for the advantage of those who had lost everything ; a further imposition for thirty years on all whose property was valued at more than five thousand marks. This policy of levelling out was applied in 1951 to the major industries in the law of *Mitbestimmungsrecht,* which secured for the workers a definite and legally-based share in the direction of heavy industry. A board of directors must now consist of five representatives of the management plus five representatives of labour, with an eleventh director, belonging to neither interest and chosen through the agreement of both. Of the labour members of the board, three are selected by the Trades Union leadership while two are chosen by the workmen themselves. The adoption of this *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, we may say safely, has had an admirable effect upon industrial relations.

This bright aspect of a reviving Germany must not, however, obscure certain weak lines in the general picture. The revival has been possible only through the provision of huge credits, chiefly from the United States ; and these credits have one day to be redeemed. It has happened speedily, some might suggest " too speedily ". It has created its own rapid rhythm, and possibly men have been subordinated to the rhythm rather than the rhythm made subservient to man. One is conscious of the hasty rhythm, with at times its hectic beat, as though there were something unnatural in the massive process, as if at its heart there were an emptiness, not yet filled, as filled it should be, with confidence in and for the future. The standards of living have improved certainly but they are still considerably behind those of the majority of people in Britain, and men must work hard and long to live with a measure even of reasonable comfort. Never the less, as the prospects improve of more consolidated relations with other countries, so will this rhythm accommodate itself and confidence be restored increasingly.

The European Outlook

This German revival has been rendered possible, from the political point of view, by the existence since 1949 of a strong government with a firm popular support. The Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.) is a

post-war party which has drawn together most of the steady and stable elements in the Federal Republic. It is in a sense conservative, for, as its name implies, its policies are influenced by Christian principles : but it is at the same time, progressive, and has a keen awareness of social problems and reforms. Like all large parties, it has its wings, some of them to the right, others more towards the traditional left. It has been dominated by that remarkable personality, Dr Adenauer—the outstanding statesman on the Continent—whose position and prestige in his own country is curiously similar to that of Sir Winston Churchill in Britain. Adenauer and Churchill respect and admire one another ; and they are surprisingly alike. In fact, the criticisms levelled against Dr Adenauer run parallel with those raised at times in Britain against the Prime Minister.

Dr Adenauer from the first has been the firm advocate of a European orientation for Western Germany. That this has been so is scarcely surprising, when it is remembered that he springs from the Rhineland, that portion of Germany which was most influenced by ancient Rome and has been in closest contact with France, and that he is a loyal Catholic. Himself an excellent European, he recognizes the properly European character and mission, at least of Western and Southern Germany, and knows that the destiny of his country must be sought in contact and collaboration with the West.

Again and again, he has emphasized this orientation. Speaking in West Berlin after the breakdown of the Berlin conference, he declared :

> We remain at the side of the West, for the policy of European integration, and for the policy which by every means and path, and even if necessary indirectly, leads to German reunification in peace and security.

A resolution at the annual congress of the C.D.U. at Cologne on 29 May 1954 laid down the same standpoint :

> The nations of Europe must at long last overcome their national egoism, establish the European Defence Community, and resolutely pursue Europe's political integration. Any delay only reduces the chances of easing present tensions.

What should be noticed in this attitude of Dr Adenauer is that it has been consistently maintained. Although in a position to do so, he has never bargained between West and East and attempted to secure better conditions for the Federal Republic by playing these two adversaries off one against the other. He has never sought to win concessions from the Western Powers by any threat or pretence of agreement with the East. His has been a patiently straightforward and honest course. His policy has been and is one of whole-hearted co-operation with, and if possible even of integration in, the West.

It is reasonably clear that this attitude is endorsed by the large majority of Germans in the Federal Republic. Germans vote—it has been said—rather according to their *Weltanschauung* or general outlook on life than because of the programmes of political parties. And it may be doubted whether a considerable proportion of those who vote for the Social Democratic party really oppose this European orientation of the Chancellor, though it was fiercely resisted by the late Dr Schumacher and is officially rejected by the present leader of the Socialists, Dr Ollenhauer. West Germany has no bi-partisan foreign policy such as we find in Britain. Yet, in point of fact, there is to-day no practical alternative to the policy of Dr Adenauer. Officially, the Socialists put forward an alternative, demanding further Four Power talks between the Western Allies and Russia for the reunification of German territory. To this they sometimes add the creation of a larger Western European system, including the Scandinavian States and Britain as well as the six Powers which are co-operating in the Coal and Steel European Community.[1] But are these suggestions—or are they intended to be—practical policies? Or merely the counter programme which every opposition has to put out? The German Socialists know the Russians perfectly well and know what has been the fate of all previous Four Power conferences. They are strongly anti-Communist and, in character, far less Marxist and far more bourgeois than before the war. In any event, it can be said with reasonable confidence that the Chancellor's foreign policy commands at the moment widespread and genuine support.

Accordingly, if the Chancellor is criticized in Germany, it is not because of his foreign policy. The C.D.U. I heard criticized during the summer on grounds familiar to all students of democratic politics: that they talked much and achieved little; that there was too much jockeying for position within the party and the administration. It was said to be a party of Christians, in the main, but not a Christian party,and that questions of principle counted far less with it than expedient solutions. Dr Adenauer, it was hinted, was an autocrat, who did not endure fools with any readiness and who towered too much in the manner of a Colossus over his fellow ministers. Some suggested that, despite his great qualities, he was not a good judge of men and that there were men in his entourage who were quite unworthy of that position. Others insisted that he was ready to use men according to their abilities and did not bother about their political past, and that in consequence many ex-Nazis had important posts in and near the government. In reply to this last objection it was retorted that the Allied Control Commission had attempted to keep all ex-Nazis out of official and public life, with the result that administration became completely inefficient: former

[1] France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

civil servants had to be brought back, regardless of party membership, because they alone had the necessary competence and experience.

I found it difficult to obtain a satisfactory and clear answer on one point, namely whether there was or was not much Nazi influence in the Federal Republic. Some replied in the affirmative, but I discovered that these usually equated Nazi with nationalist and thought that any strong expression of national sentiment indicated Nazi sympathies. That was, I considered, going too far. Others answered very definitely in the negative, saying that, though no doubt many Nazis had retained their opinions and ambitions, their influence as such had completely declined. The latter reply is borne out by election results during the past five years. There have been some groups of Nazi pattern. Among them, the *Deutsche Reichspartei*, founded in 1946, which later gave way to the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (S.R.P.). At the first federal election in 1949 the D.R.P. polled 1·5% of the total vote. In 1951, the S.R.P. had 11% of the votes at the local elections in Lower Saxony and 7% at Bremen in October of the same year. Its percentage at the 1952 elections in the South West State of Baden and Wurttemberg was only 2·5. It was suppressed in that same year.[1]

European Reactions

On the Sunday morning, when it was announced that the Brussels meeting between the proposed members of E.D.C. had broken down, I was at lunch in a *Studentenheim* at Freiburg-im-Breisgau. With me were four priests : two Germans, parish priests respectively from Cologne and Frankfort ; a Swiss, working at the central headquarters of the *Caritasverband* in Freiburg ; and another German, representing an American Catholic organization, and whose father had been a cabinet minister in the Brüning government. The breakdown was announced on the 1 o'clock news. The reactions were different and interesting. The Swiss priest spoke fiercely against France, about the French unwillingness to co-operate except on their own quite impossible conditions, and argued that considerable elements in France were still dreaming unrealistically of French hegemony on the Continent. One of the parish priests was inclined to agree with him, though his tone was milder and one more of regret than indignation. But what most concerned one of the two remaining priests, whose experience was wider than that of the

[1] It should be noted that this and other smaller pro-Nazi groups have expressed themselves in favour of close ties with Russia. On the anniversary of the first Nazi *putsch*, commemorated on 9 November 1951, the leader of one group declared : " Our aim is a new and unified Reich allied with Russia, that traditional partner of the German people ". The chief of another spoke of an alliance with Russia. Among songs used at the meeting was one entitled : " Do you see the dawn in the East ? " This is only one more indication of how extremes meet. Some of the most active Communist agents in East Germany were formerly high-ranking Nazis. It is also another proof that Communism and Nazism are little different, that, in the term of Dr Waldemar Gurian, Nazism is " brown Bolshevism " and conversely, Communism is " red Fascism."

others, was the effect which this breakdown might have inside Germany itself, and the impulse it might give to the creation of a German national army. This was his chief fear and preoccupation.

One of the motives behind the European attitude of Dr Adenauer has been a certain apprehension concerning German militarism. The collapse of Germany brought with it a natural revulsion against war and against military service. Uniforms came to be loathed as previously they had been flaunted and admired. When the prospect of a German inclusion in E.D.C. was first discussed, it was argued that the new German forces must be made as unmilitary as possible : the soldiers should have Trades Unions, should wear civilian clothing except when on actual duty and should not salute officers. Dr Adenauer himself is reported to have said in 1951 :" If we have to build a new army, we shall have several thousand ineffective generals, and only a few hundred private soldiers who will volunteer."

I think that there exists no special keenness in Western Germany for the recreation of a German army. The leaders of C.D.U. have all along preferred the concept of a European Defence Force, into which German elements would be integrated. They see—or a large number of them see—Germany's future as part of a closely-linked structure in Western Europe, in which Germany would collaborate intimately with France. It is to Germany's interest, I was told on more than one occasion, that there shall be a strong France. I believe that this represents the Adenauer point of view. While he insists upon German sovereignty, and upon German enjoyment of equal rights with other Powers, he is thinking all the time on these Western European lines. Indeed, he is sometimes charged by Germans with subordinating the question of German reunification to this policy of integration of the Federal Republic with the West.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the majority of West Germans had made up their minds definitely on this and other major political issues. What is clear is that great numbers of them are concentrating upon the work in hand, concerning themselves with their homes and jobs and leaving these larger problems to the politicians. You cannot turn a people into democrats overnight. The Germans are inclined to leave public affairs to the officials in charge of them and—this is the reverse side of the attitude—to claim that they have no particular responsibility themselves for what these officials do. And accordingly it has been easy for them, while deploring the horrors of the Nazi system, to imagine that individually they are not to blame. Professor Eduard Spranger of Tübingen University, speaking on the anniversary of the West German Republican Constitution, declared :

> It cannot be denied that despite all the changes of the most recent past, it has not been quite easy for the German people to find their way

> to democratic government . . . . One cannot sense a great enthusiasm for democracy . . . . Nobody would suggest that a great moral movement accompanied the new political establishment of the German Federal Republic. For three decades young Germans have declared that they do not like the existing systems of their political parties ; to share those feelings we do not have to be very young.
>
> What had prevailed in Germany for the last century was still the rule. The Germans preferred to let the precarious public affairs be managed by the few who feel inspired to do so, while the people at large devoted themselves with great industry to their production or hovered in purely intellectual heavens.[1]

Too many Germans are insufficiently *political* for the continuing health of a system of Parliamentary democracy. In fact many of them glory in being *unpolitisch* and contrast the stability of unpolitical Western Germany with the instability of too political France. Dr Adenauer is approved by them as a man who gets things done and who has helped them in the past five years to reach a position of relative prosperity and security. I say *relative* because to the German mind at the moment everything is relative : relative to an ultimate union of Eastern and Western Germany (the present condition of things is accepted as only temporary) ; relative to the policies and actions of America and Russia. There is a wide-spread dread of another war, with its appalling prospects for an invaded Germany, and frequently the assumption that it is bound to come one day or another. From this they take refuge in an attitude of *carpe diem* : let us eat, drink and . . . . *work*, work, especially *work*. That is at least the anodyne ; therein lies the hope. I have met more than one parent who had written personal letters to Dr Heuss, the President of the Republic, and to Dr Adenauer, protesting against any rearmament of Germany and insisting that their sons shall not serve in any future war, as their fathers had to serve and suffer in the last. But in the main the West Germans are good citizens, and will accept the burdens and responsibilities that come their way.

Some Curious Contrasts

What, it might be asked, are the groups in Western Germany that oppose this measure of rearmament which the German government has decided upon ?

Here we discover two curious contrasts. It was not liked, and maybe is still not liked, by many of the older Nationalists : and it is resisted

[1] cf. p. 95 in *The Return of Germany*, by Norbert Muhlen. This work, published by John Lane in 1953, gives a fresh and excellent survey of Germany, both West and East, in the past few years. Mr Muhlen is an American who spent more than four years in the country.

officially at least by the Socialists, who have now become German nationalists.

The Nationalists objected to it since in their eyes it did not further German interests but was linked with the defence of the West generally against Russia. Western Germany is in an exposed situation and would suffer the brunt of Russian attacks upon Europe. These men had no particular sympathies with Western democratic countries, for whose soldiers they had no great respect, whereas they do rate Russia highly from a military standpoint, largely, I suspect, on account of Russian ruthlessness. Rearming of Western Germany might culminate in war between Western and Eastern Germans : and this in their eyes is a strong argument and an ever-present fear. Men of this sort have no affinities with Communism, but they have a regard for historical Russia as a military Power. German, and especially Prussian, military men have frequently felt this attraction towards the East, and this has nothing to do with the present Russian system.

Nor must we forget that the rearming of Western Germany is viewed in Germany itself always with reference to the ultimate reunification of the German people. The present division into East and West is unnatural, wrong and temporary. No one feels it ought to last or even can last. Is union likely to be postponed or, even worse, prevented because of Western German association with other Western countries ? I say nothing here of a further question, which is of less practical moment but which is latent in German minds, namely, what of former German territory, such as Silesia, to the East of the Oder-Neisse line, now occupied and annexed, for instance, by the Poles ? That too is for Western Germans a question that remains unresolved. Far better, so thought many Western Germans, to remain uncommitted until after East and West Germany had been reunited and then adopt a Western or even a neutralist attitude.

This point of view has been reinforced from a Christian angle, that of Dr Niemöller, prominent in the resistance of the German Confessional Church to the Nazis, but whose influence to-day is in steep decline. Dr Niemöller has never liked the Federal Republic, because for one reason of the strong Catholic representation in the C.D.U. He has referred to the Republic as " begotten in Rome and born in Washington " and suggested that it was due in part to the machinations of Mr Myron Taylor at the Vatican, with the result that Germany has lost " her previous position as the strongest Protestant Power on the European Continent ". It should be added that few Protestants follow Dr Niemöller in this prejudiced attitude ; nor would many endorse his opinion that a united Germany even under Russian domination would be preferable to Germany's present division.

> If there is the alternative between the continuing division of Germany or the unification of Germany, even under the dictatorship of Russia, the Germans must prefer the latter—including the risk of Communism.

That was Dr Niemöller's verdict, to which he has added the following comment :

> It is an infamous fallacy to claim that it would be ruinous for the Church to wake up some day in a Communist world

—a sentence capable, no doubt, of different interpretations but showing a dangerous neutralism and unreality.[1]

If it is odd that Nationalists should become opponents of military service, it is just as curious to find Socialists adopting the nationalist programme. The position of the German Socialists since the war has been an ambiguous one. Their leader, the late Dr Schumacher, had understood that previous Socialists had failed because they were not identified with the nation but represented only one class. The Socialists in Germany have therefore opposed co-operation with Western countries and E.D.C., although these policies were advocated by the Labour Party in Britain and by the majority of Socialists in France. They wanted to show themselves very German by being resolutely anti-West. At the same time, they are firmly anti-Communist and have no illusions about Communism or about Russia. They have been unco-operative and unpractical. Emphasizing the reunification of Germany as point No. 1 of their international programme, they urged and continue to urge that this problem must be tackled before any other. Germany must be reunited. Afterwards, they would envisage either a neutral or an independent Germany.[2]

Other German Currents of Opinion

There are two further elements in the political pattern of the Federal Republic which call for a brief comment.

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[1] quoted by Muhlen, Pp. 128—9.

[2] I should not like to give the impression that for Dr Adenauer the problem of German reunion has been relegated to the background. His policy is that Western Germany had first of all to find its proper position in a Western structure and then that Eastern Germany should subsequently be added to it. Not long ago, in June, 1954, a national movement was inaugurated for a unified German State. Its leading spirit is Herr Kaiser, one of the best-known leaders of the C.D.U., himself Minister for All German Affairs in the Bonn government. The aim of the movement is to work against the feeling of isolation and estrangement in the Soviet zone and to bring the people of the zones into closer spiritual and, when possible, personal contact. Individual relations between the two zones have become easier during the past year, particularly since the German demonstrations of July, 1953. This summer I met a number of visitors from the Soviet zone, priests among them, who were spending holidays in the West. Their accounts of the German morale in Eastern Germany and of the religious situation was not by any means wholly discouraging.

One of the parties in the government coalition is the *Freie Demokratische Partei* or F.D.P., representing Liberal interests. In general, it supports the Chancellor's foreign attitude but with some difference of accentuation. In April and May, 1954, it proposed a discreet opening of direct relations with Russia, and the suggestion was made that an all-party Parliamentary delegation might be sent from Bonn to Moscow. Dr Adenauer firmly resisted this suggestion on the grounds that it might cause lack of confidence in the West, as he sharply repudiated a more recent speech of Dr Brüning, which dealt with the relations between Germany and Russia after the Treaty of Rapallo. On this point, it is interesting to note the Socialist reaction. They urge, it is true, the reunification of Germany through agreement with Russia but, in their judgment, this agreement must be not between Western Germany and Russia but between Russia and the Western Powers. Industrialists in the Federal Republic, represented in the F.D.P., would not unnaturally welcome a greater volume of trade with the Eastern zone and the East generally, but even this is not regarded as suitable or practical by Dr Adenauer.

A second party, with already some vicissitudes in its short history, is the All German Block, that claims to represent the many refugees from the East. The 1953 elections gave them 27 seats and two posts in the Cabinet. Their background is that of the migration of millions of Germans from their former homes ; their spirit naturally one of resentment. The various *Landsmannschaften* or regional associations contain Germans from Bohemia, Silesians, East Prussians etc., and during Whit week this year as many as 750,000 members met in different centres in Western Germany. Their first objective is reunification of Western and Eastern Germany ; the second, the attempt to regain their former homelands but by peaceful means, yet they would steadily reject official relations with Czechoslovakia or Poland, which meant an abandonment of the *Germania irredenta*.

This is a rough pattern of Western Germany, as it appears to-day. There has been a great revival ; the country flourishes ; cities are rising again with speed and determination. Prosperity has been secured but behind the bright facade lurk unsolved problems. The atmosphere is at times tense with a fevered urgency and anxiousness. One has the feeling that the people are thinking in terms of to-morrow, not the day afterwards, of this year rather than five years hence. Government is very stable ; wide agreement exists over foreign policy, and to this most other issues have been subordinated. The latest developments which have brought the Federal Republic into the Brussels Treaty and N.A.T.O. have set a crown of triumph upon it. What—there remains the query—what will the future bring ? If the Western Powers are at last right, if correctly they have learnt the lesson that in all dealings with the

Communist countries they have to act from strength, for only so will their efforts be respected, then we can argue, and must indeed argue, that what has been done in and for the Federal Republic has been well and soundly done, and that it will be greatly for Germany's and for the Western world's advantage.

The Phenomenon of Berlin

There is still the phenomenon of Berlin.

Berlin has in one sense been a liability to the Western Powers since 1945. It has been an even greater liability to Russia.

When the war ended, and Berlin, the capital of Prussia, was partitioned between the four occupying Powers, the world exclaimed: *Finis Borussiae.* Many a Western and Southern German echoed this peal of thanks. The question arises of course whether Berlin was typical of Prussia. Berlin was cosmoplitan, like most great cities, and the genuine spirit of Prussia swept over the Eastern Prussian and Pomeranian plains. Berlin was less impregnated with the scent and smell of Nazism than, let us say, Munich or Nuremberg.

But post-war Berlin has won for itself a special place in the attention of the world. Call it whatever you please—"Island in the Red Sea", to use a Berliner expression or window on both worlds, it has performed a remarkable function. It has kept alive at the heart of the Soviet zone another spirit, the spirit of liberty and initiative. It has refused to give in under severe duress. The story of post-war Berlin is a story on its own: a minor epic within the chronicle of Germany's revival but far more truly epic in character and colouring. Berlin was destroyed to a more cruel extent than any other city of Germany except maybe Hamburg and Dresden. It was isolated from the rest of Germany and blocaded for an entire year. Its privations were more permanent and more pronounced. The people of Berlin have shown a tenacity and endurance in the face of threat and circumstance that have to be admired.

There the two worlds meet, which dominate our thinking and shape our problems of to-day: the world, grey with depression and despair, in which men and women no longer matter but are ground down to the pattern of Communist life: the other world, always shot through with gleams of hope, however grim the immediate present, the world of Western values and liberties. It is through Berlin that Eastern Europeans can look westwards and keep hope alive, albeit faintly, with the understanding that freedom has not perished from this earth, and that they themselves are not wholly abandoned. It is through Berlin that the

West can still look eastwards and see the harsh reality behind the lying propaganda and the unreal dreams. Berlin which once was regarded as that centre of oppression, from which so many millions prayed and waited to be liberated has become itself a stronghold of liberty.[1]

Religious Contacts

I have said nothing or next to nothing in this article of religion in Western Germany but it is of course a very significant factor. In the first place, the dominant party is the C.D.U., and here the influence of broadly Christian principles is all important. Like the *democristiani* in post-war Italy, the C.D.U. has been the major political factor in the national resurrection. It is not a Catholic party, as was the old *Zentrum ;* it is Christian and commands a large proportion of both the Catholic and the Lutheran vote. One consequence of Hitler's persecution of religion, not present at the time in Hitler's mind, was to bring Catholics and Lutherans into close relationship and sympathy. It is striking that it is to-day in Germany, the classical land of the Protestant Reformation, where the relations of Catholics and Protestants were first strained to breaking point that they are probably better than anywhere else in the world. For years after the war Catholic services were held, when there was need for it, in Protestant churches, and *vice versa.* Particularly was this the case in Northern Germany, where there were few Catholic chapels for the Catholic refugees from Bohemia. Protestant leaders are invited officially to Catholic congresses, for instance, to the autumn *Katholikentag,* and the courtesy is reciprocated. To quote one small personal impression. I said Mass one Sunday morning in the small city of Rothenburg, that charming relic of the past with its gabled houses fronted with pastel colours and its old *Wehrgang* still intact. I had done so once or twice before 1939. But what a difference ! Rothenburg is a blue town, as Catholics say, that is Protestant. It has only one Catholic church. But this time everywhere I met smiles and was welcomed with the traditional South German words : *Grüss' Gott.* The majority of those who greeted me must have been Protestant. I cannot think that it happened or would have happened twenty or fifteen years ago.

This does not mean that German Catholics or, for that matter, the Protestants of Germany have abandoned the idea of the apostolate. Far from it. Much Catholic Action is in evidence and there has been wide development, I was told, in lay groups among the Evangelicals.

[1] A few days ago I read a short book on post-war Berlin, very delicate in texture and appealing in its approach. It is *The Dancing Bear,* by Frances Faviell. A dancing bear appears in the Berlin city arms.

The Catholic percentage in the Federal Republic is of course considerably larger than it was in the pre-war Reich, for the Eastern districts, now cut off from the West, were dominantly Protestant. During the past three or four years relations have somewhat changed. Not that they have become less friendly but the growth of the Ecumenical movement, with its congress for instance in Amsterdam, has made the Lutherans more conscious of their Protestant character and of the need of renewed contact with Protestants of other lands.

These remarks on the relations between Catholics and Protestants in Western Germany prompt me to comment on the Ecumenical movement within Protestantism which has staged international congresses and is associated with the World Council of Churches. The notion of *protest* belongs to the character of Protestantism, and this reveals itself in the great number and variety of churches and creeds which come under that all-embracing name. In Germany Protestantism means, in the main, Lutheranism as it means membership in England of the Church of England, for the same historical reasons. But in addition, in Britain and even more so in the United States, the number of Protestant bodies is very large. These smaller religious bodies are generally more definite in their protest, that is more Protestant and more extreme, than the historical churches of Britain and Germany, which have retained many elements from the older Catholic form of worship. Now it is clear that what is dominant in the World Council of Churches is this more decidedly Protestant factor and should it ever be possible to constitute some pan-Protestant union, its note may well become more Protestant, that is further removed from the Catholic Church, than is the case in Britain or Western Germany. Consequently, in both those countries, the development of this Ecumenical movement is watched with a wary eye. It is not quite clear whither it is leading, not that Lutherans in the main and Anglicans wish to go with it. Particularly is this so with the High Church section of the Church of England, who model their worship on that of the Catholic Church and refuse to accept the title of Protestant.

In general, Catholic relations with Protestants in Western Germany remain good and friendly. The persecution of both under the Nazi regime has made a great many, and on both sides, more faithful to their religion, and more friendly towards those others who, if they do not share their faith, share at least many of their spiritual ideals and values.

JOHN MURRAY

Macklin's Shylock and Macbeth

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CHARLES MACKLIN and John Rich were the central figures in the great revival of interest in Shakespeare in the English theatre during the period 1732-1746.

Rich fared badly at the hands of his actors and he has been even more unfortunate in his treatment by theatrical historians. Actors such as Quin, Mrs Cibber and Mrs Woffington despised him ; historians blame him for the fact that while the Othello of Booth and the Wildair of Wilks were being neglected, Rich was drawing full houses with his pantomimes, engaging four French dancers and two dogs which danced the minuet[1]. The historians tend to forget, however, that Rich, while manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, consistently gave performances of Shakespeare from as early as 1715. In his very first season he produced " Henry IV, Part I ", followed by " Hamlet ", " Macbeth ", " Julius Caesar " and " Othello ". True, at this period and up to 1738 he did not baulk at the production of the notorious " versions " such as Lord Lansdowne's " Jew of Venice ", but it should also be noted that the " Coriolanus " produced by Rich in 1720 was Shakespeare's text, not Tate's. It is also significant of Rich's development that while the " Richard II " he produced on 10 December 1719 was the Lewis Theobald version (which, among other emendations, omits the first two of Shakespeare's Acts altogether) the version of that play which he gave in 1738 was Shakespeare's own.

The main reason for Rich's early Shakespearean revivals, of course, was that his company at Lincoln's Inn Fields (1715-1732) was a newly formed group, without any " star " actor. To attract attention, therefore, Rich found it necessary either to produce new plays or to give new productions of old ones. When he built Covent Garden Theatre " on account of Lincoln's Inn Fields having fallen into decay "[2] and opened it in 1732, his Shakespearean revivals had already become popular.

The fact that from about 1741 onward Rich consistently gave the Shakespearean texts of the plays is largely due, I think, to the example of Macklin, and particularly to the latter's performance in " The Merchant of Venice " in that year. Up to that date, Macklin had acted in a number of Shakespearean " versions " : for instance, in

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[1] Gertrude M. Godden : Henry Fielding (1910), p. 65.

[2] G. C. D. Odell : Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (1921) vol. 1, page 218.

February 1735, he had taken part in a Drury Lane production of " A Cure for a Scold ", a two-act farcical version of " The Taming of the Shrew " by a portrait-painter named Worsdale. Within the next few years, however, Macklin's appreciation of Shakespeare developed to such an extent that in 1741, as the driving-force at Drury Lane, the Irish actor was responsible for genuine Shakespearean productions of " As You Like It ", " Twelfth Night ", and, finally, " The Merchant of Venice ". Macklin himself played the parts of Touchstone, Malvolio and Shylock. By 1747, he had added "The Tempest" and "Love's Labour's Lost" to his list of authentic revivals.

Macklin's most notable achievement, of course, was his presentation of " The Merchant of Venice " on 14 February 1741. Up to that date, the eighteenth century had given the play only in the version known as " The Jew of Venice ". This work was written by George Granville, Viscount Lansdowne, in 1701, and it carried the following aristocratic preface :

> The foundation of the following Comedy being liable to some objection, it may be wondered that any one should make choice of it to bestow so much labour upon ; but the judicious reader will observe so many Manly and Moral Graces in the Characters and Sentiments that he may excuse the Story for the sake of the Ornamental parts.[1]

" The Jew of Venice " was first produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1701 with Doggett as Shylock, Betterton as Bassanio, and Mrs Bracegirdle as Portia. Lansdowne's chief emendations were the abolition of old Gobbo, Launcelot and Tubal, and the introduction of a Masque of Peleus and Thetis in which Shylock drank a toast to his " Mistress, Money ".

On the other hand, Macklin's production was remarkably faithful to Shakespeare's text. He retained the two Gobbos and both the princely suitors to Portia, " Morochius " and Arragon. Tubal was also retained as a " feeder " for Shylock in the latter's great scene of passion[2]. Macklin's acting in the part of Shylock was accepted as a revelation. Christoph Lichtenberg, the famous physician, saw him in the same part in 1775 and wrote :

> Picture to yourself a somewhat strong man, with a sallow harsh face and a nose which is by no means lacking in any one of the three dimensions, a long double chin or dewlap ; and in making his mouth, Nature's knife seems to have slipped and gone all the way to his ears, at least on one side, so it seemed to me. His cloak is black and long, his pantaloons are long and broad, and his hat three-cornered and red,

[1] Furness Variorum edition of Shakespeare, Vol. 7 (1888) p. 346.

[2] Odell, supra, Vol. 1, p. 262.

probably in accordance with the style of the Italian Jews. The first words which he utters are spoken slowly and deliberately : " Three Thousand Ducats ". The " th " and the " s " twice occurring and the last " s " after the " t " have a lickerish sound from Macklin's lips, as if he were tasting the ducats and all that they can buy ; this speech creates for the man, upon his first appearance, a prepossession which is sustained throughout. . . . In the scene in which he first misses his daughter he appears hatless, with hair all flying, some of it standing up straight, a hand's breadth high, just as if it had been lifted up by a breeze from the gallows. Both hands are doubled up, and his gestures are quick and convulsive. To see a man thus moved, who had been hitherto a calm determined villain, is fearful.[1]

Mrs. Inchbold's comments are also interesting :

> Macklin was the soul which, infused into Shylock, first animated this favourite drama. No fiend-like malice, no outrageous cruelty, no diabolical joy in human misery, seemed too excessive for the nature of mankind, when he depicted these extraordinary crimes. In the art of representing this character, his person, features, deportment, and tones of voice appear'd so inartificial they were so much like those of unaffected man, that his mind seemed human too ; and all uninteresting prodigy was done away.[2]

Of a performance of " The Merchant of Venice " in 1770, Francis Gentleman notes Macklin's " sullen solemnity of deportment " and his " forcible and terrifying ferocity " :

> In the Third Act . . . he breaks the tone of utterance and varies his countenance admirably ; in the dumb action of the Trial Scene he is amazingly descriptive.[3]

Macklin seems to have lavished on the production in general as much care as he gave to his own interpretation : to take just one aspect, the music to the play. In the British Museum there are manuscript " Songs in the Merchant of Venice " by Dr Arne, dated 1742. It is probable that these songs are from new music written by Arne for Macklin's 1741 production : it is known that Arne wrote the music for the Drury Lane productions of " As You Like It " and " Twelfth Night " in 1740, also for the same theatre's presentation of " The Tempest " and " Love's Labour Lost " in 1746-7, and for Garrick's " Ode to Shakespeare " at the Shakespeare Jubilee, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1769. Of course, we cannot be finally certain that Arne wrote the music for Macklin's 1741 production : there is no mention of it in the advertisement for the

[1] Christoph Lichtenberg's Visits to England, edited by Mare and Quarrell (1938) p. 40.

[2] Mrs Inchbold : British Theatre, Vol. 8, p. 8.

[3] Francis Gentleman : Dramatic Censor (1770) Vol. 1, p. 291.

production in the London Daily Post and General Advertiser for 14 February 1741 nor have I located any mention of Arne in the Burney Manuscripts in the British Museum.[1] Mr C. B. Oldman of the Museum weighs the likelihood thus :

> It seems to me so probable that Arne, who was musical director at Drury Lane at that time, should have been responsible for the music to this production that I think you would be justified in assuming he had a share in it.[2]

Macklin also seems to have given considerable thought to the appropriateness of his Shylock costume. He wore a red hat, white necktie and black loose gaberdine, which was the distinctive dress of Venetian Jews in the sixteenth century.[3] A rather more subtle touch was his beard. In the sixteenth century, Jews who lived in Moslem countries allowed their beards to grow without even trimming : out of discretion, however, Jews in Christian countries, especially in Italy, trimmed their beards.[4] Macklin's beard as Shylock was carefully trimmed.

A remark in Rowe's edition of " The Merchant of Venice " (1709) may have given Macklin the idea of the serious implications in Shylock. Rowe's text follows that of the fourth folio of 1685 and treating of " The Merchant of Venice " he writes :

> Though we have seen the Merchant of Venice received and acted as a Comedy, and Shylock acted by an excellent comedian, yet I cannot but think that the character was tragically designed by the author.[5]

The " excellent comedian " can only have been Doggett, in the 1701 or a subsequent performance of the Lansdowne version. There is, of course, no proof that Shakespeare's Shylock, as acted before 1701, was played as a comic character and the tradition which ascribes such an interpretation to Richard Burbage is almost certainly a fiction composed by John Payne Collier.[6] The only comic interpretation was of Lansdowne's Shylock and this lasted only from 1701 to 1741.

It should be remembered that in interpreting Shylock as a serious character, Macklin was setting himself directly against the contemporary theatrical treatment of Jews. Since the execution of Roderigo Lepez in 1594, Judaism was a stock theme of fun and clowning on the English

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[1] Charles Burney : Collection of Notebooks containing mss dealing with British actors and actresses (1560-1816). Seven vols. British Museum Number 939 B 1.

[2] Personal letter of 13 October 1951.

[3] Jewish Encyclopoedia : edited by Hyamson and Silvermann (1938) p. 125.

[4] Israel Abrahams : Jewish Life in the Middle Ages (1896) p. 283.

[5] Rowe : Some account of the Life etc. of Mr William Shakespear (1709) page XIX.

[6] John Payne Collier : History of English Dramatic Poetry (1831) Vol. 1, p. 430.

stage. Writing in 1880 on Elizabethan England and the Jews, Sir Sydney Lee[1] could point to only three 16th century plays which treated Jews with any degree of gravity : the later example of Beaumont and Fletcher in " The Custom of the Country " is the exception which proves the rule.

Macklin's Shylock became the standard interpretation until the performance by " Mr Kean from the Theatre Royal, Exeter "[2] at the same theatre on 26 January 1814. Even in this famous case, no radical departure in interpretation was made and Macklin's was the Shylock followed by Cooke and by the elder Booth. Even after this period, only slight differences appeared. Irving, for instance, did not emphasize the whetting of the knife (Act IV, Scene I) to the same extent as Macklin did.[3] On the other hand, actors such as Cooke retained most of Macklin's " business ", including his bowing at Portia's speech beginning " It is an attribute to God himself " (Act IV, Scene I, lines 205-7).

Macklin's Shylock was a revolution in British acting and it virtually replaced the old formal style represented by the " star " of Macklin's early years, James Quin. The latter is described by Cumberland :

> With very little variation of cadence, and in a deep, full tone, accompanied by a sawing kind of action which had more of the Senate than of the Stage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference that seemed to disdain the plaudits that were bestowed upon him. Unable to express emotions, whether violent or tender, he was forced to be languid in action and ponderous and sluggish in movement.[4]

This style of acting, described by Mantzius[5] as " epigonic ", had been introduced into England after the Restoration, in imitation of the contemporary French stage on which Mlle. Champmesle, under Racine's tuition, delivered her tirades in " Andromaque " (1667) in a cadenced monotone.[6] If Macklin was the originator of the new style, he was ten years behind the first expression of a demand for it. In 1731 Aaron Hill was already complaining of the actors' " stage voice, their eternal affectation of forced tone with which they colour and efface the passions they are endeavouring to heighten."[7]

On 23 October 1773, Macklin played " Macbeth " at Covent Garden Theatre : the production is primarily noteworthy in that it was the first occasion on which a London producer dressed Macbeth in Scottish costume. It should be said at once that there is a slight possibility of

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[1] Sir Sydney Lee : Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society (1880).
[2] The Times : 24 January 1814.
[3] A. C. Sprague : Shakespeare and the Actors 1660-1905 (1945) p. 27.
[4] Richard Cumberland : Memoirs (1801) Vol. 1, p. 80.
[5] Karl Mantzius : A History of Theatrical Art (1909) Vol. 5, p. 369.
[6] Margaret Barton : Garrick (1948) p. 33.
[7] Aaron Hill : The Actor (Works, 4 vols. 1753).

error in that statement. There are in existence several anonymous and undated prints which show Macklin wearing the normal dress of the period for his Macbeth performance, and the Gabrielle Enthoven Collection of Theatrical Material in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes one such print. At the same time, the traditional account is supported by a caricature (dated in the Harvard Catalogue as published in 1773) which is included in the Godwin Pamphlets in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, showing Macklin as Macbeth wearing Highland costume. His intention seems to have been to present the Scottish garb of about the year 1600. The Godwin caricature shows him wearing a kyrtle or shirt reaching to the knees and hitched up at the waist. The following description, written in 1641 by Stralock in his account of the Battle of Glenlivet[1], refers to the dress of a Highland Scot at the end of the 16th century :

> Next to the skin, they wear a short linnen Shirt, which the great men among them dye of saffron colour . . . to fence their feet they put on Rullions or raw leather shoes. Above their shirt they have a single coat reaching no farther than the navel. Their uppermost garment is a loose Cloke of several Ells, striped and party colour'd, which they gird breadth-wise with a leather belt, so as it scarce covers the knees. Far the greatest part of the plaid covers the uppermost part of the body. Sometimes it is all folded round the body about the region of the belt and sometimes it is wrapped round all that is above the flanks.

It would appear from the Godwin print that Macklin wore a saffron shirt and that an attempt was made to pleat it : it was also hitched up at the waist with a belt. The only difference between his version of the shirt and most descriptions of the garment as used in late 16th century Scotland is that his sleeves are decorated and tight-fitting while most of the early accounts of the costume give the shirt wide sleeves " open below ", or, according to Bishop Lesley in 1578, " very large pleated shirts with wide trailing sleeves, dyed with saffron among the rich ". Macklin also seems to have worn the plaid, " a length of fine cloth, roughly fifteen to twenty feet long by five or six feet wide, capable of being folded or draped round the body ". He does not seem to have worn the short coarse woollen coat mentioned by at least two observers during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

He seems to have erred in wearing a hat. " Flat blew caps very broad " were worn by most men in the lowlands of Scotland, but all Highlanders went bareheaded. D'Arfeville states definitely that the custom was to go bareheaded and let the hair grow very long and Camden describes the people of Breadalbane as having their hair " thick and long ".

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[1] H. F. McClintock : Old Irish and Highland Dress (1943) p. 117.

Before Macklin, Garrick's costume as Macbeth was the Windsor uniform, that is, " a scarlet coat like a military officer, a waistcoat laced with silver, and a wig and breeches of the cut of the time ".[1] This is the costume which is shown in the Zoffany portrait. Charles Kean, who undoubtedly made great efforts to attain historical accuracy in his costuming, used for Macbeth a dress similar to Macklin's except that his plaid was striped and he used the " shirt of iron rings " described by John Mair in his History of Great Britain (1521).

As to Macklin's production itself, it is possible to gain some idea of his methods from a few notes which he made for the occasion. (These notes, written on a few pieces of paper, were found attached to the copy of Kirkman's Life of Macklin which is in the Harvard Theatre Collection : I am indebted to Dr William Van Lennep, Curator of Harvard College Library, for their use.)

> Macbeth's House, When the King comes here, he should enter with bagpipe, fife, drum, and all the pomp of hospitality and welcome. Scene the last of the first act—if it were done—in this scene there should be table and chairs, Macbeth should sit down sometimes in this soliloquy—then start up—traverse—it would diversifie the actors position—and better mark his perturbation, he should be discovered in deep rumination—and perplexity—either sitting or standing—not walking on—the scene must be a chamber—Couch scene—ha ! Soft ; twas but a dream—here drop the sword—when is he to rise from his knees?—at—I am but man and at the same time take up the sword—when Duncan comes to Macbeth's castle he should be preceded in the scene without by fife, tabor, pipe, trumpet, and all the union of domestic and royal music—and a great number of pages and retainers of Macbeth's train, and when Lady Macbeth comes on she should be attended with a train of ladies. At the first entrance of Macbeth he should be preceded by officers, drums, fifes, standards, and other warlike characters and insignia of the van of the army on their march, he must be booted in russet, broadsword pistols at his girdle, dirk, and cap imitating a bonnet, a ruff-hair tied behind but short—soldiers half-stockinged. Act 2d the scenery of the murdering scene—must be considered. there should be an opening in the flat I think—the play should have a set of new scenes, all newly disposed—in the manner of the roman scenes—should not the scene be dark—Dagger scene—drop the sword at—thou marshelest me the way that I was going—take it up after—there is no such thing—In this scene the servant comes on with two candles—he goes off and leaves his master in the dark that is a breach of manners even to absurdity. to remedy this the scene must lie in a Hall, or antichamber. in which there must be a table in the appartment and when the servant goes off he must leave the candles on the table, on which I think Macbeth must put them out. This scene must be reconsidered for the absurdity must not remain. Banquo should begin the Second Act by

[1] Percy Fitzgerald : Life of Garrick, Vol. 1, p. 224.

coming out of the lower door P.S.—as coming from the King, with a ring to Macbeth. Macbeth should enter m.d.P.S. or O.P. Banquo should go off m.d.O.P. Lady Macbeth should enter m.d.P.S. peeping—to see what Macbeth is about—Act 2d—could there not be a new scene contrived for the dagger scene and the murder? In this scene Banquo begins m.d.P.S. he should begin l.d.P.S. as coming from the King Macbeth m.d.O.P.—he should enter alone—at the folding doors—and without a candle—Query—Lady Mac O.P. She should enter—at the folding doors—She comes on alone—So should Macbeth the act must begin in the darkness—visible—in the prompter's book there is a table on near the 2d entrance why a table on? why a candle? or why a servant in the murdering scene?—or why is the murdering scene in the open Court (or place that is common to so many) where the heavens are seen—Should not, when Banquo goes off, Macbeth sends his servant off at one door and go off himself at another—then the scene change from the outside to the inside of the palace, leading to Duncan's apartment. the murder over the scene must change to the—no candle, I think, left on the table by the Servant—near the second entrance as in the prompter's book—Act 1t at Macbeth's first entrance he should be preceded by Fife, drum, Bagpipe (query) and a body guard, in highland dress or, with Targets and which should be heard before they appear. In the last act the English must have Bows and Arrows, the Scotch, broadswords pistols and targets. the flight must be so manoeuvred as to make the Scotch first appear to defeat the English and drive them off the stage—the English must beat them back and totally rout the Scotch—Macbeth must appear in the front of the battle when the Scotch drives the English off—Inside of the Castle—every room should be full of bad pictures of warriors, sword, helmet, target and dirk—Escutchions—and the Hall, bores stufft, wolves—and full of Pikes and broadswords. Cave scene in the 4th act. there must be high rocks All round So as to form the stage into a deep cave and down the back part must be a winding way for Macbeth's to come down to the Wetches.

Even from these irregular jottings, it will be seen that Macbeth introduced several new pieces of " business " into his performance. For instance, he rejected the tradition of standing during the " If it were done " soliloquy : even as late as the middle of the 19th century this tradition was strongly held.[1] Macklin's innovation here was not accepted by all later Macbeths : Henry Nicholls sat during the whole soliloquy[2] : Booth sat until the words " To sleep " and then, after a moment's reflection, rose at " perchance to dream."[3]

A problem is presented by the reference in Macklin's notes to a Couch Scene and to two quotations which do not appear in the authentic

[1] Asia Booth Clarke : The Elder and the Younger Booth (1882) p. 153.

[2] The Athenaeum : 4 March 1854.

[3] Sprague, supra, page 235.

Shakespearean text, " Soft ! twas but a dream " and " I am but man ". These words do not appear in any of the following :

The First Folio	1623	Theobald (first ed.)	1733
The Second Folio	1632	Theobald (second ed.)	1740
The Third Folio	1664	Hanmer (first ed.)	1744
Davenant's version	1673	Warburton	1747
The Fourth Folio	1685	Johnson	1765
Rowe (first ed.)	1709	Capell	1767
Rowe (second ed.)	1714	Hanmer (second ed.)	1770
Pope (first ed.)	1725	Jennens	1773
Pope (second ed.)	1728	Johnson and Steevens	1773

Nor do they appear in the Dublin editions of 1739 or 1759 or the Swiney edition printed in Cork in 1761.

The " Couch Scene " mentioned may be Act 2 Scene I. The prompter's copy which Macklin used specified a Chamber bare of furniture except for a couch and a small table. The table would be necessary so that Fleance could set down his torch. The couch would be appropriate for Macbeth in deep thought. If Act 2 Scene 1 is intended, the words " Soft !, twas but a dream " may have been added to " There's no such thing " (line 47). This part of Macklin's notes seems to envisage Macbeth dropping the sword suddenly after the dagger had vanished and falling to his knees on the floor. He would remain on his knees, probably, until the bell rang (line 62) and somewhere here " I am but man " may have been interpolated either as a substitute for or an addition to " I go, and it is done " (line 62). The interpolation would have some point in emphasizing Macbeth's sense of the inevitability of his crime.

It is probable that Macklin's " Couch Scene " and " Dagger Scene " both refer to Act 2, Scene 1. If so, it must be inferred that he was in doubt as to the precise points in this scene at which Macbeth should drop and take up his sword.

Contemporary reviews of Macklin's 1773 " Macbeth " fill in a few more details :

> The Scenes, Decorations and Dresses were very striking and magnificent. The cannon on Macbeth's castle, however, were a violation of the costume in painting, as firearms were invented many centuries after the coronation of Malcolm. Lady Macbeth's modern robes by no means accorded with the habits of the other personages, and Mr Macklin's flowing curls, like the locks of Adonis, were unpardonably out of character.[1]

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1 The London Chronicle : 23-26 October 1773.

Macklin's reception of the messenger who brings word that Birnam Wood was in motion received favourable notice :

> Instead of snapping the half-sawed Truncheon on the Caitiff's elbows, Macklin seized his arm, and bent him to the ground, and then uttered the last line of the speech with a frigid despondency which would not have disgraced even your own adherence to Nature (Unsigned letter to David Garrick Esq. in the St James's Chronicle, Thursday, 28 October 1773).

The St James's Chronicle carried in October-November 1773, many anonymous poems and squibs on the subject of the riots which were occasioned by Macklin's " Macbeth ". Nearly all the doggerel is rude but the following represents the more polite comments published on the controversy :

> Impromptus on seeing Mr. Macklin in Macbeth.
>
> No longer mourn, Macduff, thy childrens' fall,
> Macklin hath murdered Sleep, Macbeth, and All.
> I learn'd to-night what ne'er before I knew,
> That a Scotch Monarch's like an Irish Jew.
>
> Bob Short.

After about six weeks, a few letters began to be published in defence of Macklin, such as that by " T.R." in the " Chronicle ", Tuesday, 3 November 1773. By the beginning of December, the excitement had died down and public interest had shifted to the proposed extirpation of the Jesuits " as A Society pernicious to the civil and religious Rights of Mankind."[1]

Macklin obviously gave considerable thought to the costuming of Macbeth but the original idea was hardly his. As far back as 1757, West Digges had produced " Macbeth " in Edinburgh, " the characters entirely new dress'd, after the manner of the Ancient Scots."[2] Macklin may have heard of this production and taken the hint.

D. Donoghue

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[1] St James's Chronicle : 7 December 1773.

[2] William Archer and Robert W. Lowe : " Macbeth on the Stage " in The English Illustrated Magazine, December 1908.

The Jacobite Wars: Some Danish Sources

by JOHN JORDAN

THE history of the campaigns in Ireland between 1689 and 1691 has yet to be studied fully. Two of the main difficulties, as is well known, are the sparseness of the contemporary sources, though this is worse on the Irish than on the Williamite side, and the strong partisan spirit, whether due to political or religious prepossessions, in which most of the contemporary and later historians and commentators, even up to the present time, view the events which they describe. There is much to be said for the argument that the best history is written by honest partisans whose bias is apparent and can be discounted, but even the best of these needs to be corrected by reference to more impartial evidence if it be available. For the Jacobite wars this corrective is provided to some extent by the narratives of the many foreigners who fought on both sides. Of such accounts there are a number surviving in Denmark, which are made up of reports, private letters, memoirs and returns, some few published but mostly in MS., which derive from the Danish auxiliary corps that fought in Ireland from March, 1690 to January, 1692 as part of the Williamite army. In my article "Würtemberg at Limerick, 1690" in *Studies* (summer number, 1954, pp. 219–225) I have given a short account of this force.

The Danish documents include one published book, a history of the war by one Andreas Claudianus, who served in the battalion of Prince Frederick's regiment of foot that formed part of the corps. This is in Latin, and was published at Copenhagen in 1718 under the title *Mavors Irlandicus, sive Historia de Bello Hibernico biennium in Hibernia gesto, chartis consignata a commilitone A. C.* There is a copy in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Claudianus was later pastor and, apparently, also at least for a time a schoolmaster, in the little town of Stenstrup near Nyköbing in north-west Sjaelland (Zealand), and although his style is turgid his Latin is that of an educated man. He explains in the introduction that he would have published his book much earlier but for poverty and the cares of his family and occupation. He stresses several times that he bases his account on notes he made of his own experiences and on accounts he received from his comrades of some operations at

which he was not himself present, which he recorded at once. Claudianus is on the whole very reliable with regard to dates and Irish place-names, and particularly useful for the march routes of his unit.

Claudianus gives some interesting minor details of operations at which he was present. For instance he says that on 10 August 1690, during the first siege of Limerick :

> . . . The night being very stormy a tremendous disturbance arose between the soldiers of the enemy and those of the King, the former ringing their bells under the impression that an assault was at hand, the latter assuming from the sound of the bells that there was a sortie coming. The cause of this scare was that in the approaches to the mines weapons [*i.e.*, charges] more powerful than usual were being placed, for which reason in fear almost as they were aroused from sleep those in the town girded themselves for defence, while the English raised a tremendous shout at the sound of the bronze bell, roaring : Now ring Pater Peter to masse, go to church ye Popish rogues . . . which insulting words as if by a dire and malignant wound greatly affected the breasts of the townsmen [p. 51].

Now the night of 10 August, as we know from reliable sources, including one which I shall quote later, was the night on which Sarsfield left the cavalry camp on the Clare side of the Shannon to carry out his raid on the convoy at Ballyneety. It does not appear to have struck Claudianus that the ringing of the bells and the commotion in the town might have been a deliberate ruse to concentrate the attention of the besiegers on the walls while Sarsfield and his men moved off ; he attributed the exploit to the Rapparees, but we, with fuller knowledge, must regard such a ruse as at least a possibility. Claudianus thought [p. 57] that the decision to raise the siege was caused by fear of the mines laid by the Irish under the walls which, he says, would have blown up the Protestant prisoners in the town as well as the stormers. This may or may not be the truth, or part of the truth, but it suggests that the virtual destruction of the Brandenburgers at the Black Battery during the assault on the counter-scarp on 27 August had a considerable moral effect on the Williamite rank and file.

Another personal record of the war by a member of the Danish corps is the MS. *Reisebuch* of F. Altevelt. This is written on 24 leaves of octavo paper, bound in a cardboard cover, marbled front and back. Inside the front cover is written in the hand of the Danish scholar O. H. Moller : *Olai Henr. Molleri Prof. Hafn. ex bibliotheca Jac. Langebek, Archivarii et Consil. Status 1776.* The original is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and is described by E. Gigas at p. 14 of volume 3 (2) of his *Katalog* of the MSS in the Royal Library concerning Northern Europe, especially

Denmark (Copenhagen and Christiania, 1915). Of the 24 pages in the book Altevelt devotes 20 to the war in Ireland. Almost nothing seems to be known about him, not even his rank or unit, although as he was quartered in Waterford during the winter of 1690–1691 and as he mentions particularly the death of Colonel Munchgaard of Prince Frederik's at Aughrim it seems probable that he served either in the Guards or the Prince Frederik battalion. He writes in badly-spelled and incorrect German in a sprawling and sometimes hardly decipherable hand, and was barely literate. Such value as the *Reisebuch* has is chiefly as a record of marches and dates, though both need to be checked by other evidence. The following extracts are characteristic :

> On the 3rd November [1691] we got orders to march to Cork [from Waterford] and arrived there on the 8th December. That winter there was a little frost such that I could break the ice with my shoe. The Irish said that there had not been so severe a winter for a hundred years. I laughed then [p.18].
>
> [After giving the position and provinces of Ireland] . . . The peasants there sowed plants a kind of fruit called *potates* which they eat in place of bread just like *erdt appels* [*i.e., erdäpfel,* potatoes] with us. I lay in quarters in the house of an old man who said to me that he had eaten no bread for 16 years other than *potates*. Their cattle and sheep go in the fields winter and summer always green. There are four religions there side by side. I lay in quarters with a fisherman at Waterford. He has 3 sons. The 1st was a Catholic the 2nd a Calvinist, the 3rd a Quacker [*sic*], the mother a Presbyterian ; but the father himself a Catholic. In the country there were also many *raperies or snapphanen* [*i.e.,* Schnapphahnen, partisans]. I have seen at Klein Möll [Clonmel] over 40 heads set up over the gates [pp. 19–20].

One of the chaplains attached to the Danish corps was a Norwegian pastor, Ivar Brinck, *feldpraest* of a cavalry regiment, who later was pastor of the Danish church in London. Brinck's *Dagbog* [Journal] was used by J. H. F. Jahn, himself an officer of the Danish Foot Guards, who published in 1840 at Copenhagen a summary account of the corps in English pay under the title *De Danske Auxiliaertropper i Engelsk Tjeneste, 1689–1697, En Krigshistorisk Udkast.* It was then in the possession of a Pastor Marckmann, but a recent inquiry I made of Riksarkivet, Oslo shows that it seems to have disappeared.

Much more important than these personal accounts is the large number of official and semi-official reports, returns, accounts and letters from various officers of the corps which are preserved in Copenhagen. They are distributed between the State Archives (*Rigsarkivet*) and the Royal Library (*Det Kongelige Bibliotek*). Their distribution between the two

institutions appears to have been to some extent due to chance, for in the collection in the Royal Library are included at least some documents which, it is clear, belong more properly to those in Rigsarkivet.

The documents in the State Archives may be classified as follows :

(*a*) Military accounts,

(*b*) Documents concerning the convoy of the corps to British ports, both of which are of interest chiefly to students of Danish and British history ;

(*c*) The inward correspondence of the Danish Chief Secretary for War, 1689–1692 (*Overkrigssekretaerens Indkomne Breve,* 1689–1692),

(*d*) Inward business of the War Chancery (*Krigskancelliets Indkomne Sager*) for the same years, and

(*e*) Danish Army Establishments (*Danske Lands Etat*), 1689–1691.

The returns at (*e*) above give the establishment of the corps for each year and some information about the officers of the various units, but need not further be discussed here.

The papers in the groups (*c*) and (*d*) are of the first importance and interest for the study of the operations of the Jacobite war from March, 1690 (when the corps reached Ireland) onwards, but they also contain a great deal of information about conditions in Ireland at the time as well as throwing useful light on Irish, British and European politics.

Group (*d*), the inward correspondence of the Chief Secretary for War, may be subdivided into two smaller groups. The first consists of the letters to him of the Duke of Würtemberg, the lieutenant-general who commanded the auxiliary corps. Jens Harboe, the Chief Secretary, and Würtemberg together monopolized the confidence of Christian V of Denmark in all matters relating to the army and navy. The tone of the correspondence makes it clear that Würtemberg was not only anxious to keep Harboe in touch with what was going on in Ireland both as regards the operations and the administration of the corps, but also to keep the goodwill of the man on the spot who had the ear of the king during his own absence as field commander. His letters to Harboe make up a continuous series from September, 1689, when arrangements were being made for the embarkation of the corps until February, 1692, when it left Ireland for the Low Countries. In addition to discussing questions of pay, recruitment, fresh drafts from home, promotions, casualties, health and all the other day-to-day questions of administration Würtemberg gave his correspondent a good deal of incidental information about

the operations and political affairs, though as regards details of operations he usually refers him to his own reports to the king, which will be discussed below. The correspondence is entirely in French and German ; the following extract is from a letter discussing, among other things, complaints sent home by dissatisfied officers :

> I do not think we have lost too many when it is taken into consideration that they are troops who have not been on campaign for a long time. And equally, if the officers are prepared to take care and pains I think it [the corps] would have been even less reduced, but you know that things are always mixed and that private interests come first. I am persuaded that there are certain grumblers, among those who have never seen any campaigns but those of Kropper Heyde [*i.e.*, field days at home], since it appears that such a poor opinion of this country has been acquired. I assure you that in Flanders the troops will not be so well maintained as here. Officers who have seen other campaigns will say, if they are prepared to tell the truth, that they never have been on a pleasanter one. In the first place, throughout the campaign there has been meat in abundance, we have only been short of bread for six days during the campaign but we had wheat, barley, and peas, beans and potatoes in plenty. As for heavy mortality we have not had the diseases which are due to too much meat ; only let the lists of the troops who were in Schonen [*i.e.*, in the war against Sweden, 1675–1679] be examined. It is almost a matter of course for officers to complain even if they had twice as much. I know captains of cavalry who have lost at play up to 600 guineas and afterwards they complain, to relieve their mortification (*en rabbat du deconte*), I assure you that our cavalry are in clover, (*à gogo*), even though they have considerable claims for money due them. They have very good quarters and want for nothing.
>
> [Waterford, 8 April 1691]

The second sub-group of letters in Harboe's incoming correspondence consists of letters addressed to him by staff officers, commissaries and unit commanders of the corps, who no doubt were anxious to retain the good will of so important an official. These letters are of varying importance, but the few written, for example, by Colonel H. G. Walter, Würtemberg's principal adjutant, before he was mortally wounded at Limerick on 10 August 1690, are of considerable interest. The following extract is from a letter of his in German dated " Im lager bey Carick [Carrick-on-Suir]," 25 July 1690 :

> Since my last Douglas was left at Athlone, where he is master of the town on this side and is now working at the rest, but as the couriers have a long journey, and are not safe from enemy parties, we have no news from there for three days, although we much desire it, as intelligence has reached us that a detachment has left Limerick, undoubtedly for Athlone. Meanwhile we have arrived here with the main army, and have sent a

detachment of 5 foot regiments and 12 guns against Waterford, on whose appearance and summons they surrendered yesterday without the use of force. And I saw the garrison of 1,300 men march out with arms and baggage, but without music, burning match or the like. The people were [? ; *dull* in MS.] enough, but their clothing and especially their poor arms indicated woe and misery (*Elend und Jammer*). They will be brought to Limerick. Waterford is a fine little city with good commerce and has an excellent harbour. We can get no good of it, however, until Duncannon, eight miles from here, on the other side of the river [falls] into our hands, which it is hoped will surrender today or serve as an example, for there are many Catholics in it, who will be cut down if the King has to use force and guns before it. In Waterford there are 17 guns, but in bad condition, with good munitions and more than 1,000 tons of French flour, which we shall certainly permit ourselves to taste . . . We march tomorrow and take our road for Limerick, where there apparently is still a corps of 16,000 men or more. They have made forage scarce here, on which account we are not staying long, but must at once get to close quarters with them and then find out what the French in Limerick intend to do. They admit no Irishman, and issue nothing to them from their depots . . . The King's two natural sons and H. [*i.e., Herr*] Lauzun are apparently still in this country, and indeed at Limerick. And for their retention (*Hinterhalt*) and that of the troops they have 11 ships quite close to the town and 22 more lower down near the sea. But whether the storm in front of us and the fair wind before them will one day join is still to be awaited. The weather is still fairly good, but it is not to be depended upon ; for that reason we are making great haste, and when Athlone and Limerick are lost, Cork and Galway will have little courage left for defending themselves. I fear, however, that it will last until so late in the year, that we shall find it difficult to reach Flanders before the spring . . .

Würtemberg sent Harboe from time to time copies of his correspondence with third parties. Writing from the camp before Galway on 23 July 1691, for instance, he enclosed a copy of an intercepted letter from a French officer in the city, apparently to a colleague in Limerick. It is endorsed simply *La Copie d'une Lettre Intercepté* (*sic*) *des Ennemis,* and is incomplete, but it shows clearly the low spirits and disunity among the garrison after the defeat at Aughrim :

Galway, 21 July 1691.

Monsieur,

The Abé (*sic*) de Gravelle is going to Limerick and will tell you, Monsieur, the state in which we are at present ; the Enemy have come to us in order of battle and have approached within musket-shot with such boldness that they seemed to have certain knowledge of the state of mind in which the troops and people were. Monsieur de Gincle sent a trumpet in the afternoon with a Proclamation of the Prince of Orange upon which Mr du Son [*i.e.,* d'Usson] made them resolve to defend themselves and

said to Them that if they had French troops they would do so for a long time, and the following morning the Enemy having attacked the redoubt in which there were more than two hundred men supported by 300 who were in the Covered Way with the Lieutenant-Colonel of the King's Regiment [lit. avec *le Lieutenant du Roye*] to whom Monsieur du Son had been obliged to give an order by him and me who had [both] spent the night upon the bastion we saw [them] abandon it without any Resistance or without its being possible for anyone to make the soldiers fire twenty shots at the Enemy who were working in the open [*i.e.* without cover] for two hours. At about the same time a considerable body passed [the river] to the house ? [*dantsem*] where Monsieur du Son had only been able to send 60 men who cannot (*sic*) defend the crossing of the river. As soon as Mylord Desloy [? Judge Daly] got word he called the Council to deliberate on capitulating and to come in a body to find M. du Son and present to him a request which I keep for you because of its singularity in which he noted all the pressing reasons which they had for submitting to the Enemy.

All that Monsieur du Son can (*sic*) do on that occasion after protesting to them afresh was that he would never hear of any Capitulation that if they could not do without going there [*i.e.*, to the enemy] to capitulate that he besought them Urgently to obtain as long a delay as possible to give the army time to relieve us. You will know, Mr, the details of the capitulation which are being sent to my Lord Duke [Tyrconnell], but it would not be possible to express to you the frustrations that M. du Son had in this business, for after having had the Mayor who was accused of Intelligence [with the enemy] arrested, he was allowed to leave without discussing it with him, although kept in view by some officers ; and he went before the hostages at the gate, the Bishop, the Dean, in sum everyone, talking to them of the necessity there was for surrendering, without its ever making him change countenance (*sic*) or conversation. There is also the fact that if it [apparently the Irish garrison] had not reached this place without difficulty the Enemy would have entered on Sunday, there is even reason to believe that the Enemy, after Winning the Battle, would have sent some people to seize it, since the letters that have been Intercepted convince us of the Intelligence that the Enemy had in the Town. If we are not reinforced we shall leave next Sunday. The Enemy are withdrawing their Artillery, and we ours into the Town, and [they] have demanded all the outworks . . .

In the State Archives is preserved also a group of documents which Jahn quotes under the general title of the *Kongelige General-Commissariats Collegies Archiv.* These are now indexed in the series *Krigskancellliets Indkomne Sager* (Inward Business of the War Chancery), and consist of the personal reports which Würtemberg made direct to Christian V with many enclosures by way of copies of letters, extracts from the corps diary, returns of casualties and effective strengths, etc. These cover many questions of high policy and are of interest from the point of the general

historian for the period, but they are of very great value as regards the progress of the military operations. They include accounts of the movements leading up to the battle of the Boyne, a short description of the battle itself, the taking of Wexford and Waterford, a report covering in detail the first siege of Limerick up to 12 August 1690 (which complements the account of which I gave extracts in the Summer, 1954 number of *Studies*), another giving details of the siege of Kinsale, and others covering the operations of 1691, including a short account of Aughrim written from the battlefield on the following day. There is a full scheme of distribution of winter quarters for 1690–1691 between the various Williamite corps. From other correspondence of Würtemberg's it appears that he submitted detailed reports on the siege of Cork, 1690 and on Aughrim, but so far it has not been possible to trace these. In this collection there is a letter written by Würtemberg to Christian V on the morning of the Boyne before the battle :

> My last was from Dundalck. I report with all submission that after 2 days' march we have arrived before Drogheda, where we came upon King James posted with his army. He has Drogheda on his right hand a deep river in front of him, and the left hand covered by a great ravine. The army halted in front of him a cannon-shot away. Yesterday a great misfortune almost occurred, for while reconnoitring the King was grazed in the back by a cannon ball, so that the skin was carried away with it. There is however no danger thank God, for the King was afterwards some hours on horseback, and has slept well this night. A cannon ball passed very close to His Highness Prince Georg, and hit another man who was just beside him. There was a heavy cannonade the whole afternoon on both sides. Although the enemy is so advantageously posted, the King is prepared to attack the enemy in his advantageous position (*den feind in seinem vortheil anzugreiffen*) when it is ebb tide about 10 o'clock, when the water is not so deep. At this moment it is observed that the enemy is striking his tents. I hope with my next to be able to report that Your Majesty's troops have distinguished themselves.

In his report of 12 August 1690, from the camp before Limerick, Würtemberg gives his version of Sarsfield's raid on the convoy at Ballyneety :

> Monday the 11th . . . Reliable information was received, that Major-General Sarsfield with 500 horse and 60 dragoons had crossed the river some miles from here with the intention of attacking the heavy artillery which is awaited from Dublin and there is only one squadron of horse from Villers [Villiers'] regiment with it. For that reason Major-General Lanier with 600 horse and 200 dragoons was ordered to go and meet the cavalry [? " convoy " intended] . . . Tuesday, 12 Aug. There came early the grievous news that the enemy at 1 o'clock in the night had

surprised the artillery and the squadron, while the people were asleep, cut down all the people, taken 3 standards. There were 60 munition waggons there, laden with 12,000 pounds of powder, 3,000 cannon balls and spades, 8 18-pounder guns, much match, grenades and carcasses, as well as many bread waggons with 3 days' supply for the army. 500 artillery horses have been lost. The enemy have burnt all the waggons with the ammunition and all equipment, as well as the stores, likewise the carriages for the guns, and blown up 2 pieces, and then got away. Whether Major-General Lanier will be able to come upon this Sarsfield remains to be seen. As soon as the news was received Gravemoer was ordered across the river with 1,000 horse at early dawn, but came back again about midday without having met anything . . . If this accident had not occurred the trenches would have been opened today with 6 battalions, for each battalion has already made 1,000 fascines and each [regiment] of cavalry and dragoons many. The King had the request made of all officers, high and low, who had waggons and carts, that they should be sent early tomorrow to Carrick, 40 miles from here, where is the extra artillery that reached Waterford, where [*i.e.*, at Carrick] there are still 14 battering-pieces, and 60,000 pounds of powder and 6,000 tools, and 1,000 cannon balls for each gun, but they cannot come back again for another eight days, and there is nothing here except what is requisite for field artillery.

The Reports give many glimpses of the *petite guerre* in Ireland between the siege of Kinsale in October 1690 and the opening of the next campaign in June 1691. The following extract is taken from a report to Christian V dated Clonmel, 7 January 1691 :

Major-General Tettau, who has his quarters with 2 battalions in the County Cork has made an attempt on the County Kerry. He took the road to Kinsale. The enemy immediately abandoned the entry in the mountains where he had made some entrenchments. For that reason the Major-General advanced to Ross, where there is one of the strongest castles in the whole of Ireland on account of its situation. Two regiments lay there. Because [he] had no heavy guns or mortars with him, on account of the impracticable roads, it was impossible to attack it. The enemy however had an outpost on a small rock on which there was a redoubt occupied by 80 musketeers, which the Major-General attacked by an English captain and by Captain Boineburg [*recte* Boyneburg, an officer of the Sjaelland battalion]. After some resistance it was taken by storm with the loss of 30 dead and wounded. Captain Boyneburg has much distinguished himself and was among the first into the redoubt. He was wounded by a grenade, but not dangerously. Of Your Majesty's 2 battalions 4 are dead and 12 wounded. Of the enemy none escaped.

In the Royal Library, Copenhagen, there are several groups of documents relating to the Danish corps, apart from the Altevelt *Reisebuch* already mentioned. These are described in the *Katalog* by Gigas, and consist of the collections Kall, fol. 86, described at pages 25 and 26 of

volume 3 (2) and Kall, fol. 87, described at page 308 of volume 1. Of the former some papers had been transferred to the then Royal Privy Archives (now Rigsarkivet) in 1889, and should not properly appear in the catalogue at all ; the remainder include the "Journal" of the first siege of Limerick from 14 August 1690, a list of casualties after the siege of Limerick (undated), and some papers of rather minor importance. The latter item, Kall, fol. 87, consists of 65 sheets of folio paper headed : *Sammlungen zur dänischen Geschichte von 1689 bis 1714* ; this account was compiled by the Danish State Councillor Jessen, who died in 1783, from original State papers, including some of the letters from and reports from Würtemberg to Christian V described above. In a note on the sources he used which he gives in the foreword to his account of the corps, Jahn says that this was compiled by Jessen more or less as a biography of a Colonel Brinck, who served from 1689 to 1697, first as a corporal and later as *Vagtmester* (sergeant) in a cavalry regiment, and later with other Danish forces in Saxon and British pay. According to Jahn also, Jessen used only reports to the King, and he quotes Jessen only where he departs from the originals or where he himself could not find the originals.

In coming to the end of this short survey I wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks the ungrudging assistance I have at all times received from the staffs of the Royal Library and Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen and of Riksarkivet, Oslo.

JOHN JORDAN

The Kirwanian Society (1812-1818?)

by THE REVEREND P. J. McLAUGHLIN, D.SC.

THE Kirwanian Society of Dublin—which was founded as a tribute to Richard Kirwan, the Irish chemist, and to spread his ideas—had a brief existence, so far as we know ; and its achievements were meagre, especially if with lack of historical perspective we judge by present standards ; but as an index of the activity which preceded the gilded period when Ireland's capital city broke out in a cultural rash of medical schools and refined or learned societies ; and as an example of the satellite groups constantly encouraged or thrown off by Ireland's " Royal Society "—the Royal Irish Academy ; and, perhaps, as an instance of a national trait—a tendency to initiate but not to perpetuate or sustain—it deserves mention, and, maybe, attention.

In the history of science in Ireland it links up the 18th and 19th centuries in the persons of Richard Kirwan and Michael Donovan. Donovan (who has been neglected partly because of the hot personal, professional and snobbish antagonisms he aroused) drew a two-fold inspiration from Kirwan, inspiration as an Irishman and inspiration as a man of science ; under both aspects pure-souled and disinterested in a degree that may amuse or bother a more sophisticated and troubled age.

Our knowledge of the Society is derived mainly from a Minute Book preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. It is in the hand of Michael Donovan, and, besides the minutes, contains details of various researches carried out by him after the collapse of the Society.[1]

The chief difference between the Kirwanian Society and other groupings of scientists of the time in Dublin lay in its express aim[2] to deal *exclusively* with mineralogy and related branches of natural science—especially chemistry—with a view to the study and ultimate development of Irish mineral resources. (The Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Dublin Society *included* these studies among very much wider aims.) The Society was an instance of attempts made to carry out ideas of the father of Irish mineralogy, " the venerable and illustrious Mr. Kirwan ". It is notable that the society was founded in Kirwan's life-time, an unusual feature which indicates how high was the esteem this interesting figure was held in by his contemporaries, men marked with a generous and creative outlook.[3]

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[1] The Minute Book will be found under the press mark " 12 B2 16 " and is inscribed " Vol. ii ". " Vol. i " is missing, but is made up for to some extent by notes published in the *Philosophical Magazine* : *39* (1812) 319, 396 ; *40* (1812) 60, 389, 461 ; *41* (1813) 61, 232, 312, 379, 464 ; *43* (1814) 389 ; *44* (1814) 207, 317, 334, 401 ; *45* (1815) 154, 222, 308, 381 ; *47* (1816) 152.

Two other MSS in Donovan's hand in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, press-marked " 12 B2 15 " and " 12 B2 17 ", are records of researches carried out by Donovan from 1808 onwards, and have no direct connection with the Kirwanian Society, although they are—erroneously—classified with it.

[2] *Phil. Mag. 39* (1812) 319. In 1815 the title of the society is given in the Minute Book as " The Kirwanian chemical and natural historical society."

[3] For Richard Kirwan, see *Studies*, September 1939, December 1939, March 1940, and June 1940.

I.

In its structure the Kirwanian Society reflected a form of corporate life characteristic of Europe at the beginning of last century when gentlemen of standing came together and formed clubs or circles for a social, political or intellectual purpose. It was as a result of this movement that several scientific societies came into being in Dublin as in other cities. The usual mode of generation was by the efforts of a zealous person who felt he had a mission in life.

Some of the members of the Kirwanian Society—such as M. le Chevalier MacCarthy and the Earl of Charleville—had titles of nobility ; others, like the Clements, hailed from the landed gentry ; but the bulk of the members came from the professions. Among the last, medical men and clergymen were outstanding both in numbers and in intellectual fibre. A few enthusiastic undergraduates from the University of Dublin joined the Society, notable among them being young Graves who was to achieve fame in medicine and have a disease called after him. Amateurs all, save for the handful like William Higgins, pioneer in atomic theory, Stephens of the R.D.S. chemical laboratory, MacCartney, Ireland's greatest anatomist, and Mackey the botanist, who mark the slow but not unprofitable start of professional science in the Irish capital.

The President of the Society was the Right Hon. George Knox, F.R.S., recipient of an honorary degree from Dublin University, whose name raises a smile to-day because he was one of a family of intrepid but rash experimenters who not infrequently blew themselves up, and spent long periods on the broad of their back recovering from over-zealous or imprudent inquiries into the workings of nature. They contributed several papers to the Royal Irish Academy, some of them on the rare and dangerous element, fluorine, which they were the first to isolate, according to a claim made by the Hon. George's son, George James.[1] Of all the elements in the world, fluorine is perhaps the most corrosive, for it will dissolve glass, bite into stainless steel, and set wood and clothing on fire. If it is mixed with enclosed moist air, there will be a violent explosion. The Knoxes found this out. The Honorable George made observations on Kirwan's Irish mineral, calp, and published pamphlets on the Newry pitch-stone and its products (London, 1822) and on bitumen (1823). As we learn from the *Dublin Philosophical Journal and Scientific Review*[2] he had a fine collection of minerals and he did much to advance the study of Irish mineralogy.

The Society had two Vice-Presidents, Dr James Ogilby and Dr Robert Blake. The side interests of the former, a member of the Wernian mineralogical society, are made clear from papers he contributed on a porphyry formation in Antrim and Down, and on bleaching techniques. The other, whose wife was a cousin of William Higgins[3], was remarkable in that age for his scientific outlook. On the strength of the thesis he submitted at Edinburgh in 1798 for the M.D. degree (which he later expanded and published under the title *Structure and Formation of Teeth in Man and Various Animals*)[4] he has been called the father of modern dentistry. One of the few men of his day to read

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 1 (1836) 54, 335.

[2] Vol. 1, No. 1, art. 24.

[3] For the genealogy of the Higgins family see T. S. Wheeler's article on William Higgins (1763–1825) in *Studies*, Autumn 1954. Dr Blake may have been a member of the well known Galway family of that name.

[4] Dublin 1801. Printed by Wm Porter. 8vo. pp. 244.

in the book of nature itself, he found time to acquire a large practice, and was the first State Dentist to be appointed in Ireland (1821). For many years he was secretary of the Dublin Physico-Chirurgical Society which came to an end in 1816.

The secretary and treasurer, Michael Donovan (1790–1876), was undoubtedly the life and soul of this " curious "—that is, " inquiring "—body, which, like similar societies in other countries, and after the fashion of an epidemic, ran its course in well marked stages. The Society had its true beginnings in a latent period when the idea of the body germinated in the minds of Donovan, O'Reardon, Ryan and a few others. The inaugural meeting on 1 April 1812 (inauspicious date) marked a new phase rather than a beginning. There followed rapid growth, but in two or three years saturation point seems to have been reached as the susceptible part of Ireland was " infected ". The steady state, with annual gains balancing losses, was maintained for nearly four years. This state is sometimes followed by a re-birth or renewed activity but more usually by decay, as the rate of attracting new members is more than offset by wastage and immunization of the population against the ideas of the society. Decay of the Kirwanian Society was due to other causes, chief among them being the character of the secretary, who was drawn to other pursuits and became embroiled in the medical politics which were to enliven but embitter a section of Dublin and provincial life in the third and fourth decades of the century. Whatever about the force of the allegation that an Irishman's weakness springs from too much interest in persons and too little in things, the Kirwanian Society had an inherent weakness in being centered round a person (or the memory of a person, for Kirwan did not long survive the inaugural meeting of 1812[2]) instead of a subject or specific science. Donovan was both cement and dissolvant. A youth of parts, he had too many aims. He was energetic and prolific and the bulk of the papers read to the society were from him ; but he had small interest in mineralogy and he biassed the society in turn towards electricity, chemistry, history and biography, and thus diffused its efforts and impact.

II.

List of Members of the Kirwanian Society

Where addresses are given, they refer to 1816–17 or earlier. Addresses are Dublin unless otherwise stated.

Particulars of most of the medical men will be found in Cameron : *History of the College of Surgeons in Ireland,* and Fleetwood : *History of Medicine in Ireland.*

Special abbreviations : NR=Non-Resident ; HM=Honorary Member; *Al. Dub.=Alumni Dublinenses.*

Acheson, J., Esq., Derry.

Allan, Thomas, Esq., F.R.S.E., Edinburgh. NR.

Betham, Sir William. Resigned after two years.

Blake, Robert, M.D., M.R.I.A., 19 William St. Vice-President.

Blood, B., Esq. (Bindon Blood ? See *Al. Dub.*)

Brown, Dr, 43 Henry Street.

[1] The proper business of the Society was suspended in June 1812 " on account of the illness and death of Mr Kirwan ". *Phil. Mag. 40* (1812) 60.

BROWNE, Capt. T., Forfar Militia. NR.
BRUCE —, M.D., New York. NR.
BURKE, W., Esq.
CARMICHAEL, Andrew, Esq., M.R.I.A., 24 Palace Row.
CARMICHAEL, R., do.
CHARLEVILLE, Earl of.
CHENEVIX, Richard, F.R.S., M.R.I.A. HM.
CLANNY, W. Reid, M.D., M.R.I.A. (Sunderland ?)
CLEMENTS, Henry, 11 M(?)abbot Street.
CLEMENTS, Hill. do. (See *Al. Dub.* for his son born Dublin 1804).
COMERFORD, J., 2 Leinster Street.
CONNOR, Mr. Struck off list of members in 1816 for being in arrears.
CROKER, Charles, 11 Trinity College.
DABBADIE, M.
DONOVAN, Michael, Secretary and Treasurer, 2 Townsend Street.
DOWELL, T. J., 1 Mountjoy Square, East. Deceased.
DRUMMOND, Rev. Dr W., 23 Cumberland Street, North.
DRUMMOND, W., D.D., Belfast. NR.
DUBOURDIEU, Rev. Mr, Annahilt, Dromore. NR. (See *Al. Dub.*)
EVERARD, R., Esq., 70 Grafton St. (See *Al. Dub.*)
FARRAN, W.
FURLONG, Alfred, Mr, 60 Angier Street. (See *Al. Dub.*)
GAMBLE, J., Esq., Linen Hall. (See *Al. Dub.*)
GIESECKE, Sir Charles L., Prof. Min. Dub. Soc. HM.
GRAVES, Robert, 11 Trinity College.
GRIFFITH, R., Dublin Society.
HAMAL (HAMELE ?), J., M.D., F.S.A. Mem. Imp. Ac. Peters. NR.
HAMILL, H., Junr.
HAMILTON, H., 6 Fitzwilliam Street.
HIGGINS, B., M.D., F.R.S. HM. (This is Bryan, relative of William).
HIGGINS, William, Esq., 75 Grafton Street.
HINCKS, Rev. T. D., M.R.I.A., Cork. NR. (Father of the Orientalist, Edward).
HOUGHTON, E., 9 Frederick Street, Nth.
HOUGHTON, William, do.
HUDSON, E. G., Esq., 40 Grafton Street. (See *Al. Dub.*)
HUDSON, W. Spent £10 10s. for the Society in 1815. (See *Al. Dub.*)
JACOB, Dr A., 24 Angier Street. (The great oculist).
JAMESON, A.
JAMESON, J., Bow Street.
JAMESON, Prof. Robert, P.R.S., F.L.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A. HM.
JOHNSON, A., Esq., 6 Temple Street.
JONES, A., 24 Hardwicke Street.
KEOGH, Cornelius. (See *Al. Dub.*)
KNOX, Rt Hon. George, 8 Merrion Square, East. President.
LENTAIGNE. Deceased. Paid one subscription. (Benjamin, M.D. For his sons see *Al. Dub.*)
MACCARTHY, M. le Chevalier.
MACCARTNEY, J., Esq., " out of the Kingdom in 1817 ". (The great anatomist).
MCDONNEL, M. D., Belfast. NR.
MACKAY, J. T., Esq. (This is James Townsend Mackey, the botanist.)
MEYLER, Dr (Perhaps the designer of the "hypocaust" hot-air heating system for Maynooth College.)
MURRAY, J., Edinburgh. NR.
NUGENT, T., 2 Merrion Row.
OGILBY, James, M.D., M.W.S., 35 Upper Ormond Quay. Vice-President.
O'KELLY, M. J., Esq., 147 James's Street. Pro-Secretary for a short time.

O'Reardon, J., M.D., 85 Marlborough Street.
Osborne, Mr J., A. B. of Cullenswood. Proposed 1817. (M.D. 1837. See Cameron).
Patten, J., Esq., 33 Marlborough Street. (M.D. 1780. See *Al. Dub.*)
Richardson, Rev. W., D.D., Moy. (See *Al. Dub.*)
Rochfort, Col.
Rowan, A. H., Esq., 5 Leinster Street. (Archibald Hamilton : his autobiography was edited by Drummond.)
Ryan, Dr. (Friend of Drs Clanny and O'Reardon).
Ryan, R., Esq. (Perhaps Richard, author of the *Irish Worthies*).
Sampson, Rev. G., M.R.I.A. NR. (Pupil of Dubourdieu, Lisburn. See *Al. Dub.*)
Sealy, James, Esq., 31 Nassau St. Also written " Seely ". (See *Al. Dub.*)
Stephens, E., 35 James's Street.
Tardy, James, Esq., 69 Camden Street. (For his son, see *Al. Dub.*)
Templeton, J., Esq., Belfast. NR.
Wall, Dr. (Cp. Fleetwood, 164).
Williams, C., Esq. (See *Al. Dub.*)
Wilson, D., Esq., 16 Ushers Quay.
Witter, S., Esq., 32 Brunswick Street. (Carried out dangerous chemical experiment at R.D.S. in presence of M. Donovan.)

III.

The list of members is of considerable interest. Many of the names will be found in *Alumni Dublinenses* ; but the remarkable feature is the large number of members who are not to be found mentioned in its pages, indicating that in Ireland, as in Britain, the university dons were slow to initiate, encourage or develop the spirit of science, and that the lead was due to well-to-do amateurs like Kirwan and young enthusiasts like Donovan.

The minutes show that Sir Charles Lewis Giesecke, who did much for Irish mineralogy in the early 19th century, was an active though honorary member of the Society. He attended the meetings with regularity, and it is likely that he exercised a personal influence on the young member, Richard Griffith, who was to do notable work in the field of Irish geology later on. Perhaps in the confluence of these two persons at meetings of the Kirwanian Society we are witnessing the very birth of Irish geology, or at least the embryonic stages of its evolution from mineralogy. Young Robert Graves's companion from Trinity College, Charles Croker, may have been from the family of Croker-King, well known in Irish medicine and academic life, one of whom was appointed Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in Queen's College, Galway, in 1849. Robert Jameson, President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, another honorary member, reminds us of the many associations between Ireland and Scotland in cultural fields at that time : his textbook on mineralogy was one of the reference books of the Society, as a minute informs us. Richard Chenevix, also an honorary member, chemist and dramatist, had wide interests ; and the demonstrations he was to give in Dublin on mesmerism were to be the occasion of a duel between Dr Cullinam of Ennis and a member of the nobility. The remaining honorary member, Dr B. Higgins, was Bryan, the relative of William, a distinguished chemist in his own right.

The antiquarian, Sir William Betham, an " irascible gentleman " as the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes him, first Ulster King of Arms, who " made " and " unmade " families with strokes of the pen, resigned from the Society after two years ; probably in a huff, for he and the secretary were too unlike in temperament to hit it off. He wrote a great deal of stuff and nonsense about the affinity of the " Hiberno-Celtic " and Phoenician languages. Like the good Archbishop Ussher, he was a picker-up of unconsidered manuscripts, and his acquisitive characteristics have served to save for us in the library of the Royal Irish Academy documents of value for the history of science.[1]

Richard Carmichael is a big name in the history of medicine in Ireland. Ardent reformer and philanthropist who ploughed back the huge profits he made from knowing the right kind of medicine for early 19th century Dublin, his life reflects much of the influence of Kirwan, even to the point of becoming a Unitarian and not caring for money. His contribution to the work of the Kirwanian Society was indirect. His brother Andrew read papers which overlapped work of Michael Donovan on electricity in a stimulating way. Richard's own work on the use and abuse of mercury in the treatment of various diseases led Donovan eventually to the invention of his famous solution. Carmichael's pupil and friend, John McDonnell of Belfast, was a non-resident member of the Kirwanian Society. The first in Ireland to employ ether as an anaesthetic,[2] he settled in Dublin and was one of the teachers in the celebrated Richmond or Carmichael school of medicine.

It was late in the life of the Society when Arthur Jacob—who was to win world-wide fame as an oculist, with a classic work on inflammation of the eyeball to his credit, and a membrane and an ulcer and a cataract-knife to be named after him—was introduced by his friends, Seely and Tardy. His membership has significance because of the close friendship it developed between him and the secretary, Michael Donovan. Their lives kept near together afterwards. Their characters had much in common. Both took things seriously. Both had sharp tongues and were writers with probing pens. Both detested charlatans and humbugs, and were intense in their desire to establish the kingdom of science and of honest medicine. Neither had time or respect for the medical careerist or fashionable medico, who found such rich pickings in the Dublin of the Georges. Youth and the new ideas stimulated them, and soon they were to make their mark in the Dublin medical schools. Jacob was to be one of the founders of the Park-Street School (1824), and with Robert Graves was to introduce new methods of teaching medicine. In his lectures on " Animal Chemistry " he was to allow the students to perform experiments by themselves and get practically acquainted with the subject—startling innovation ! Donovan, by the new standards he was to introduce in lectures and demonstrations on chemistry and materia medica, was to play a part in equipping Dublin with medical schools capable of attracting students from abroad, and destined to reverse the direction of medical traffic with

[1] Cp. Professor Kendall's articles on the first chemical society in *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 63* (1952), 346 and 385.

[2] Cameron, *loc. cit.* 484.

Edinburgh and the Continent so prominent before the turn of the century.[1]

A not too clear note in the minute book gives Dr Reid Clanny (Clancy ?) as living and practising at Sunderland, whence he used send specimens of minerals to his friend, Dr O'Reardon, for exhibition to the members of the Society. Dr John O'Reardon was a keen mineralogist and devoted to Kirwan, many of whose ideas he shared.[2]

Another note in the minute book lets us know that Dr Hamal or Hamel, Member of the Imperial Academy of St Petersburgh, was not admitted to the Kirwanian Society until inquiries had been made about his background. Mention of him reminds us that other rather curious links between Ireland and Russia had been forged about this time or earlier. Best remembered of them is the Limerick soldier of fortune, Count de Browne, favourite of Catherine the Great and governor of Livonia. More intriguing are the shadowy others about whom we know so little. Hamel is one of these others.[3]

Rev. Thomas Hincks, father of the great orientalist, Edward, was well known as an educationist and for the efforts he made at the beginning of last century to interest Cork men in natural history, chemistry and mineralogy. He procured specimens of minerals from London and Dublin for the purpose.[4]

Robert Jameson, who conducted the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, was a Scottish Kirwan, professor of natural history and mineralogy in Edinburgh University. Member of many learned bodies (including besides the Kirwanian Society the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Dublin Society, and the Cork Institution in Ireland) the parade of two score of his titles followed by an " etc." in duplicate provoked an Irishman to found a body with the title " M.N.S.", member of no society.

IV.

Except in summer, the Kirwanian Society met once a fortnight, on Wednesday evenings at eight, in the house of the Royal Irish Academy. Here too, were kept special books of reference and a set of instruments for examining and measuring minerals. The members never got the length of issuing a publication of their own, but, cuckoo-like, availed themselves of the facilities provided by others. A notable feature, at least at the beginning, was the relatively large number of visitors who attended the meetings. The annual subscription of ordinary members was an English guinea, or £1 2s. 9d. in Irish money, which then had an existence of its own but at the inferior rate

[1] For the predominance of Irish accents in the medical halls of Edinburgh, see Kendall, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 63* (1952), 348, 392. Between the years 1784–90, *two-thirds* of the medical graduates of the University of Edinburgh were Irish.

[2] His biographical sketch of Kirwan, read to the Kirwanian Society, will be found in the *National Magazine*, Dublin, *1* (1830) 330, 469.

[3] Visitors. The minute book records the names of some of the visitors to the meetings of the Kirwanian Society.

During the year 1815 we find among others who subsequently became members Dr Sodderick, Dr Calonne (see Fleetwood, *loc. cit.* 238), Dr C. Orpen, M.R.I.A., the meteorologist, Dr Gordon, Dr Davis, Mr Doran and Mr Williams.

For the year 1817 the record is more meagre and mentions Dr Arthur (who may be of the Limavaddy family referred to by Fleetwood, *loc. cit.* 72), Dr Hendrick, Mr Houre (Hoar ?), and Dr McLoughlin, who may be Dr McLaughlin, a director of the Apothecaries' Hall about this time. (Cp. Fleetwood, *loc. cit.* 110).

[4] Cp. Berry : *History of the Royal Dublin Society*, p. 220.

of thirteen pence Irish to a British shilling. When the question of life-membership fee was raised, a sum of £10 was settled on : there is no evidence that any one ever had faith, hope or charity enough to become a life-member. At each meeting there was the reading of a paper, followed by a discussion and sometimes accompanied by a display of specimens or experiments. The Society was not lacking in loyalty to royalty—professed or diplomatic in accord with the climate of opinion of the time—so we are not surprised to find a minute for 18 November 1817, reading " no meeting on account of the funeral of Princess Charlotte."

Meeting were held regularly for about five years. In 1817 there was a proposal to draw up a " new code of laws ", but shortly afterwards there are ominous remarks about the secretary needing a pro-secretary on account of " other engagements ". The last entry of the Minute Book is dated " 11 February 1818 ", and it states that because of the small number of members present, discussion of the laws was deferred. After which " the Society adjourned ".[1] No record has been found to show that the Society ever met again, apart from what we may read into articles published in *The Dublin Philosophical Journal and Scientific Review.*

This quite remarkable periodical first appeared in 1825. It was founded by the erring Dubliner, Denis Lardner, who did much to spread and even popularize science. The title of his journal marks the new era, for " philosophical " was the old, and " scientific " the new, term for the same thing. He had two members of the Kirwanian Society with him on the editorial board, Michael Donovan and Dr Arthur Jacob. The printer was Richard Graisberry, Donovan's father-in-law,[2] and printer of many of Donovan's writings.

Lardner's *Scientific Review* is an echo of the Kirwanian Society. It has much the same mixture of science and patriotism in its aims. Its six issues carry contributions from members of the Kirwanian Society, or about their work. There are articles by Donovan and Jacob as well as by the mineralogist, Giesecke, and the botanist, Mackey. The former President, the Rt. Hon. George Knox, is mentioned and he contributes an article. There are articles on tanning and bleaching by Edward B. Stephens, and they make reference to the work of Kirwan and Higgins. W. Hudson is doubtless another Kirwanian contributor, while the many notes from Dr Thomas H. Orpen on the weather of Dublin remind us that though he was not a member of the Kirwanian Society, he frequently attended its meetings as a " visitor ". A contribution on a volatile oil by " M. Scanlan " (probably the apothecary Maurice Scanlan who wrote for Dublin scientific periodicals at the time), furnishes a link with the secretary of the Kirwanian Society, because Donovan, at the request of Trinity House, spent many years perfecting illuminants for lighthouses, and in his researches made use of oils supplied by a Dublin friend of his named Scanlan.[3]

[1] The last entry in the Minute Book reads: " Mr. Blake in the chair. Present Wm. Higgins, T. Nugent, Henry Clements, M. Donovan. Resolved that on account of the small number of members present, the discussion of the laws was (sic) deferred. And then the Socy. adjourned ".
The Minute Book shows that besides the above persons, other very active members were : Patten, Giesecke, Witten, Mackey before going to live outside the city, Comerford, the Carmichaels, Ogilby, O'Reardon and Ryan.

[2] The *Dublin Grant Book* records a marriage between Graisberry's daughter and a Michael Donovan.

[3] R.I.A. MS. " 12 B2 17 ".

V.

Some Papers Read or Presented to the Kirwanian Society.

1812—April 1 and 15, May 13, June 17 : M. Donovan on electricity.
May 13 : Dr Ogilby on a porphyry formation in Antrim and Down.
May 20 : Dr Ogilby on bleaching techniques.
November 18 : M. Donovan on a new vegetable acid.
December 16 : M. Donovan on malic acid.

1813—January 13 : Cornelius Keogh on light.
January 13 and 27 : Andrew Carmichael on electricity.
March 10 : S. Witter on bleaching.
March 21 : Rt. Hon. G. Knox on fiorin grass.
May 19 : M. Donovan on alcohol.
June : Chevalier MacCarthy on literary and scientific societies.
Dr J. O'Reardon on Richard Kirwan and his work.
December 1 : Dr J. O'Reardon on crystallography.

1814—March 23 : S. Witter on (*a*) a geological bed near Dublin ; and on (*b*) iodine.
December 28 : M. Donovan on galvanism.

1815—January 11, February 22, March 8 and 22, April 5 and 19 : M. Donovan on galvanism. (Prize Essay of the Royal Irish Academy.)
February 8 : J. O'Reardon on combustion.
November 15 : Dr Richardson presents two essays.
December 13 : D. Wilson on the chemistry of calico printing.

1816—January 10 : Notice of paper by Mr Sealy on plant-dyes.
February 7 : M. Donovan on purifying silver.
February 21 and 28 : Dr O'Reardon concludes his essay on Kirwan.
May 15 : M. Donovan on the preparation of hydrogen.
November 6 : M. Donovan on rheumic acid.
November 20 : M. Donovan gives notice of paper on dry rot.

1817—March 12 : A. Carmichael on the doctrine of Gall and Spurzheim.

Echoes of the Kirwanian Society in the *Dublin Philosophical Journal and Scientific Review* (1825–26).

Vol. 1, *No.* 1

Art. 5 : M. Donovan on preparation of potash (with reference to the earlier work of Kirwan on the subject).

Art. 8 : Arthur Jacob on the anatomy of the whale stranded at Killiney. (A notable article).

Art. 24 : Sir Charles Giesecke on Irish barytes and the mineralogical collections of the Rt. Hon. George Knox and the Royal Dublin Society (the latter due to Kirwan).

Art. 27 : James Townsend Mackey on foreign plants naturalised in Ireland.

Art. 38 : Dr Orpen's meteorological tables for Dublin. (Orpen was inspired by Kirwan.)

No. 2

Art. 1 : M. Donovan's rain gauge. (Still the best for its complex purposes.)
Art. 7 : M. Scanlan, Esq., on a volatile oil.
Art. 11 : Ed. B. Stephens on the tanning power of astringents.
Art. 16 : Mackey on Irish plants.
Art. 18 : Thomas H. Orpen continues his meteorological tables which are now of value for the microclimatology of Dublin.

No. 3

Art. 2 : Giesecke on Irish minerals.
Art. 4 : Donovan on keeping beer fresh with his ' ale-preserver '.
Art. 6 : Stephens on the Irish school of bleaching (with reference to the work of Kirwan and Higgins).

No. 4

Art. 2 : Donovan on the preparation of coffee.
Art. 5 : A. Jacob on anatomy of cetaceous mammals.
Art. 6 : Rt. Hon. G. Knox on minerals found near Dublin.
Art. 10 : Mackey on Irish plants (continued).
Art. 17 : Orpen on microclimatology of Dublin.

No. 5

Art. 4 : Review of the new Dublin Pharmacopeia, probably by M. Donovan. With proposals for new system of weights and measures. An able article.
Art. 5 : Review of Sir William Betham's " Irish antiquarian researches ".
Art. 10 : M. Donovan on detection of arsenic.
Art. 11 : Orpen's meteorological tables for Dublin continued.

No. 6

Art. 1 : Dr Jacob on diodon.
Art. 6 : Giesecke on mineralogy of Galway and Mayo.
Art. 11 : Review of Betham's " Irish antiquities " continued.
Art. 12 : M. Donovan on purifying hydrogen.
Art. 18 : W. E. Hudson on a universal alphabet.
Art. 20 : Orpen's meteorological tables for Dublin.

The subjects dealt with in the papers submitted to the Kirwanian Society included, one sees, physics, chemistry, geology and applied science, the latter having special reference to Irish industries. Donovan's voluminous papers on electricity, which receive prominence in a modern book on the subject,[1] won a prize offered by the Royal Irish Academy, and were later published in book form. In them he calls attention to the pioneer work of Henry Eeles of Lismore (1700–1781), and castigates Kirwan's famous friend, Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, for utilizing results of Eeles without acknowledgment and suppressing the Irishman's valuable communications to the *Philosophical Transactions*. One sees also that the bulk of the papers were by Donovan. Abstracts of many of them will be found in the *Philosophical Magazine* under the references given at the beginning of this article. They are not below the general level of their time and some of them are well above it.

P. J. McLaughlin

[1] P. F. Mottelay : *Biographical History of Electricity and Magnetism,* London, 1922. pp.418-19.

A Call for World Renewal[1]

by STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

THIS is a monumental work, not only in virtue of its bulk—700 quarto pages, but because of its well-ordered and elaborate structure. It is nothing less than a plea and a plan for a new world or, in less grandiose terms, a better order of society. The work is divided into two parts, very distinct though the first leads on to the second. Part I is a plea, an exhortation, an argument addressed to Catholics the world over, putting forward the urgent need of something approaching to a revolution (for the author it would be a veritable revolution) in society to suit the changed circumstances of the world, a revolution in which Catholics should take the lead by beginning with themselves. Its purpose should be the establishment of what the author calls *L'eta di Gesu,* the Age or Epoch of Christ, a world order in full harmony with the Gospel. What this world order ought to be is adumbrated in Part I the main purpose of which is to condition the mind, as it were, and to prepare it for concrete proposals to be set forth in Part II.

This second Part might be entitled Blue Print for the New Order. The proposals put forward in the course of it are certainly far-reaching, so far-reaching that they could be fairly judged only in view of what Father Lombardi believes to be the urgent need of basic changes in the order of society. He sees the world, or at all events the great powers of the world, divided between two ideologies, that of Marxism which professes to abolish class inequalities but in fact abolishes liberty, establishes state despotism, and bases its economy largely on slave labour, and on the other hand that of liberal individualistic economy which claims to produce and largely does produce economic prosperity, but leads to great economic inequality and social injustice. He admits elsewhere that in recent times this inequality and social injustice has been to some extent modified by efforts towards the welfare state. Nevertheless neither of these ideologies are inspired by Christianity. A way must be found which will preserve personal liberty while lessening inequality and injustice. This way is *Christianity socially applied,* the principles of the Gospel put into practice. In particular there is the problem of the distribution of wealth as between ' proletarian ' and ' capitalist '. The former, to-day, are looking upon the latter with bitter envy and *autentico furore.* They are ripe for revolution and they have right on their side. Every man has a strict right to the goods necessary to life—food, clothes, shelter, a measure of private property. The State has a duty to see that he gets these things, provided he is able and willing to work. If need be it must even requisition the private property of those who have and distribute it to the have-nots.

At this point (p. 110) Father Lombardi pauses to acknowledge that he is writing revolutionary sentences capable of undermining some well established positions, but nevertheless asserts that in case of conflict the right to life, and

[1] *Per un Mondo Nuovo.* By Padre Riccardo Lombardi, S.J. Roma : La Civiltà Cattolica.

a *human* life at that, comes before the right to property. But he strongly deprecates excessive state interference with the lives of citizens. The State is made for man not man for the State. Here he has in mind the errors of Fascism and Nazism as well as of Communism. True the State must be strong lest liberty degenerate into licence and democracy into demagogy. It must be powerful in order to enforce just laws and to preserve society from moral corruption. Yet it must not be totalitarian.

He goes on to point out (Ch. VII) how the Gospel has remedies for all the ills of society. The wounds of two world wars have to some extent been healed. But the greatest victim of the wars has been love. Hatred has taken its place—class hatred, race hatred, international hatred, lack of love between neighbours and fellow men, selfishness and jealousy. Nobody is being taught love in the true sense nor is anybody teaching it. Only Christianity can revive love, but if we say we want Christianity and not Communism, we must make great changes in society. Justice must be done to the worker and the worker on his side must drop his hatred of the bourgeoisie. He has some hard words here for every class of society—politicians, journalists, youth, the clergy themselves. Among all of these there must be less talk of rights and more realization of duties.

All that, it may be said, is very well, but how is the revolution to be brought about? Father Lombardi devotes some 400 pages to an answer to that question. He does not conceal from himself the magnitude nor the difficulties of the task. He does not underrate the inevitable opposition from Communism, Freemasonry, false religions, non-Catholic Christian sects, the Judases within the Church's camp, the rich who will resent the redistribution of wealth. And he has reckoned with the actual weaknesses of Catholic countries—the eight million Italians who voted Communist at the last election, the loss of the Faith among the working classes in many countries, apathy, inertia, *notevolissima debolezza,* and what not. He sees that the gigantic revolution, as he calls it, would involve the thinking out of an entire juridical system in accordance with the Gospel, the interior renovation of individual Catholics combined with united effort on a world scale, the gathering together of all initiatives and energies under a unified command, vast organization combined with fervour and enthusiasm. But all this does not daunt him. For he believes that when the great need for renovation, for organization, for unity is borne in upon the Catholic world it will rise to the occasion and brace itself to the task.

He proceeds to set forth his ideas on how the revolution (he now adopts the mild-sounding term *Revisione*) may be carried out first on a world scale, then on a national scale, thirdly on a diocesan, and fourthly on a parochial scale. Why this order of procedure? Because reform must come from above, from the Holy See itself, and must percolate down to the smallest unit, the parish. To explain in detail the author's suggestions for action within each of these four spheres would be to transcend the limits of an article. Instead I shall endeavour to point out certain general features of his proposals.

Throughout he places great reliance on councils or committees and on definite plans of campaign. Thus in the world sphere, while saluting the College of Cardinals as the religious senate of Catholic christendom, he believes that there ought to be a great central organization to direct the activities of

the laity, a lay senate of the world chosen from men of all nations and dealing with the crucial question of the distribution of wealth, while the Roman Congregations might establish a Council of Ministers of the Church to deal with such matters as the redistribution of the clergy. As an instance of the great need of such redistribution he mentions that with an equal population to that of Brazil Italy has ten times as many priests. It has in fact a priest to every 700 inhabitants while Guatemala has one to every 27,000. Members of religious orders, he suggests, ought likewise to be better distributed, and even the laity might be encouraged and helped to emigrate from overcrowded regions into the great empty spaces of the world.

Only from the centre, too, could radio, cinema, and press be organized on a world scale. The Church must speak to the world and to every individual in it. To-day evangelization by radio and television has, he thinks, become absolutely indispensable. The cinema must be turned from being one of the greatest hindrances to public morality into being the very reverse. That would imply the acquisition of thousands of cinemas and the provision of thousands of films. Even charities and organizations of assistance must to-day be considered on a world scale for the problems they deal with—unemployment, refugees, etc, etc. transcend the frontiers of states.

As to the religious orders, while recognizing their great achievements and possibilities, Father Lombardi has no hesitation in pointing out their deficiencies and limitations—narrowness, pettiness, spirit of routine, lack of zeal, somnolence. He thinks that in many cases they are hampered by little traditional observances that have become meaningless, and bound by spiritual red tape. Only the Holy Father could deal with such matters, as indeed the present Holy Father has in fact been doing. Surely writes Father Lombardi, these orders and congregations do not want to be so many little republics (*repubblichette*) each revolving in its sphere without any regard for the rest. He has a great deal more to say that is of interest on this theme (pp. 319–338).

In the sphere of the national state he has much to suggest, the general aim being the building up of a Christian nation. Here again he relies on central bodies, on the one hand an episcopal council or conference on the model of the American N.C.W.C. and on the other a national *Consulta* on which all the principal Catholic organizations would be represented, its purpose being to coordinate their activities and give help and advice where such might be needed. He then goes, in some detail, into the possible functions of such national bodies. One of the most important of them would be the drawing up of a national plan of action. This should be prepared for by a thorough survey of the fundamental needs of the nation and of the forces available for carrying out a campaign, and it should include a re-delimitation of dioceses and a redistribution of clergy, including religious. What, he asks, about a sort of priest employment bureau ? (p. 368). There might also be some redistribution among the laity of works of charity and zeal, but without regimentation or excessive unification. He dwells incidentally on the advantages of federation. In short the aim should be nothing less than a general renovation of persons and institutions social, judicial, educational, of arts, letters, recreations, etc. All that is inefficient, redundant, or out of date ought to be scrapped.

Above all, the social question must be tackled (pp. 377 sqq.). Everywhere at least in the West, the less privileged classes aspire towards a more equable distribution of the goods of this world. This aspiration is already developing into an imperative demand. If Catholics do not play their part in meeting it, so much the worse for them. The problem must at all costs be solved but we must not delude ourselves into thinking that the solution will be simple or unaccompanied by sacrifices. Social justice must assure to every individual the possibility of procuring by his labour all that is indispensable for living in a manner worthy of a human being—food, clothes, lodging, the maintenance of a family if he has one. To achieve this purpose general taxation must be reorganized. In particular unproductive (*infecondi*) capital and excess profits must be mulcted but without lessening production. When this minimum has been secured for the worker, social justice would favour the distribution of surplus wealth so as to guarantee to him private property, freedom and encouragement to individual economic initiatives, profit sharing by the employees of a factory or a firm, and so forth. The working class, on its side, must refrain from impossible demands and must realize the duty of an honest day's work.

In dealing with diocesan ' revision ' our author follows similar lines but goes into even greater detail. As in the matter of national revision he thinks a diocesan consultative body the ideal means for carrying out the general mobilization of the Catholic forces. And as before there should be a survey of needs and available resources followed by the drawing up of a diocesan plan. This would be in the main the work of the Bishop, but the members of the *Consulta* would act as his staff or his executive board. The plan could include such matters as religious instruction, aid to the dying, social justice, the frequentation of Mass and the sacraments, an adequate provision of churches, Catholic newspapers, and a host of other matters. In suggesting solutions to certain diocesan problems the author draws upon his experiences in the course of his preaching tours in many lands.

In the chapter dealing with diocesan reform he has a useful section in which he sums up those needs of the faithful which should form the object of Catholic zeal and action. They are 1. Social justice. 2. Charity. 3. Truth. 4. The life of grace. 5. The complete training of the Christian as such. 6. Vocations. He then passes in review the forces that can be counted upon for action. Among them he mentions for the first time (p. 394) the Legion of Mary.

After the diocese, the parish. What Father Lombardi has to say under this heading is not mere repetition of things said already, for the functions of the Parish Priest differ greatly from those of the Bishop and his problems and responsibilities are also different. The parish, he thinks, is or ought to be a large family and the family spirit should animate it : it is the religious unit of the Church as the natural family is the unit of society, and the renovation of the parishes (and presumably of family life) would mean the renovation of the world (p. 546).

Two further sections deal respectively with *revisione familiare* and *revisione individuale*. And there is a final summing up.

Is all this mere day-dreaming and the building of Castles in Spain? The reading of the bare skeleton of Father Lombardi's great world plan, as it has just been presented, might lead the reader to think so. But before reaching any such conclusion he might well bear in mind two considerations. In the first place a bare outline such as has been given omits perforce all the eloquent persuasiveness that fills these seven hundred pages, omits, too, the piquant details that lend life and immediacy to the exposition, and the qualifications that temper the apparent crudeness of some of the proposals. The other consideration is this: Father Lombardi is no mere arm-chair planner spinning airy theories and evolving fantastic projects. Father Lombardi is not concerned with theory: for that he refers you to the text-books of Catholic theology. His aim is strictly practical. In all that he says he is speaking out of the fullness of his experience gained as a preacher to enormous audiences in many lands from San Francisco to Vienna and from Buenos Aires to Montreal. He was thus enabled to make contacts and study conditions in many very different countries. In fact, as though to state his credentials for the task he had set himself, he begins his book with an account of his great preaching tours. These were indeed astonishing in more ways than one.

His campaign opened in May 1945 in an Italy prostrate, impoverished, half-ruined, occupied by foreign troops. He preached Christ as the only hope of salvation, Christ who alone could revive in their hearts confidence, courage, the will to work, readiness for sacrifice, temperance, love for sufferers, reconciliation. At first he preached in a hall or theatre. These soon proved insufficient. The next step was to preach to an entire city, in stadia, in public squares. Audiences numbered 4,000 in Rome, 14,000 in Milan, 30,000 in Florence, between 50 and 60,000 at Palermo, and so on throughout Italy and Sardinia for two years. But this was not enough. The campaign developed into a 'general mobilization of Italian Catholics' with a definite and comprehensive programme of action announced over the radio. He called his second Italian campaign (1949) *Crociata della Bonta*, The Crusade of Goodness or Kindness.[1]

These first campaigns produced on Father Lombard's mind a double impression viz., first (to translate his words literally) that the men of to-day are extraordinarily prompt and ready to receive the preaching of Jesus, with a void in the soul measured expressly to be filled by Him, and secondly that Jesus is willing to meet, as it were, their pressing needs by very special aids. Those two impressions summarize the conclusions of his life as priest and preacher.

But perhaps Father Lombardi's success in Italy was due solely to the post-war plight of the Italian people? Well, he could try elsewhere and his superiors encouraged him to do so. Vienna was chosen for a beginning. He knew no German, but what of that? Somebody translated a sermon of his into that language and he read the translation from the pulpit of the Cathedral. The response was almost as remarkable as in Italy. After that there could be no further pause nor hesitation. Germany came next (35 cities, including the Russian Sector of Berlin!), Holland (14 cities in 8 days), Switzerland. Then

[1] This mission to the whole of Italy culminated in the reception of Holy Communion by some ten million people on a single day (p. 34).

Belgium and France. Then Spain, after which it was inevitable that he should go to Latin America. There he spoke in Parliament houses, in public squares, in stadia throughout the continent. Audiences he could not speak to directly he reached by radio for nearly everywhere the state radio was placed at his disposal. There remained English-speaking and French-speaking America. Even this new field of the apostolate did not give him pause. He was heard by thousands in San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, New York, Washington, Toronto, then through French Canada, Ottawa, Montreal, etc.

It might be thought that Father Lombardi is a kind of glorified mob orator with the usual appeals to emotion, popular prejudices, and party passions. He is nothing of the kind. His appeal is to the deep, sometimes dormant, Christianity of his hearers, his themes are the teachings of Christ, His love, the social teaching of the Church. As to this last he has met with criticism and opposition not only in Communist circles but from the extreme Right.

For, as was stated at the outset of this article, Father Lombardi rejects not only the Marxist ideology but also that of liberal and individualist capitalism in favour of a middle way which is that of the Gospel and of the Catholic Church. Will his message be heeded and his plea be taken to heart?

Stephen J. Brown, s.j.

Reviews

CURRENT AFFAIRS

THE FUTURE OF THE WEST. By J. G. de Beus. Eyre and Spottiswoode : London. 1954. Pp. vii, 178. 12s. 6d.

Mr J. G. de Beus is a Dutch diplomat, who was educated both in Holland and in the United States. He entered the diplomatic service of his country in 1935, was secretary to the Dutch Prime Minister in London during the war and is now Minister in Washington at the Embassy of the Netherlands. He has his feet therefore in both camps, the European and the North American, and he is qualified to speak for and to both of them.

Yet I am not sure that Mr. de Beus has written the right book. His purpose is to show that our Western world, gravely shaken by two World wars and disturbed by post-war developments in the Near and Far East, is not in process of decline and disintegration. Rather does he detect in it factors of great vitality that will enable it to overcome present problems and hazards and to proceed to even richer and more splendid achievements in the future.

He does not confine himself, as you might have expected in a relatively short book, to an analysis and assessment of the West, as it now is. He begins with accounts of the theories of Spengler and Toynbee about the history of civilizations in general. Now, there is plenty of room for discussion of these wide-ranging and sweeping generalizations. But I question very much whether a volume of this kind is the proper place for such discussion. However, we must take Mr de Beus, as he is or as he has chosen to show himself.

His accounts of Spengler and Toynbee are necessarily brief : they are, none the less, clear and simple to follow : and his commentary upon the theories is sane and experienced. It is marred by a division into short pieces with sub-headings, which allow of no serious development of any particular theme. The result is scrappy and jerky, and too much use is made of the colourless " we " and " one ". Mr de Beus has a good mastery of English but his general style is thin.

Placing our civilization of to-day in these general schemes of Toynbee and Spengler, he judges that it is at a late period of development : mature, tending to be over-mature but still creative. We are in one of Toynbee's " times of trouble ", when we have to reckon with both an " internal " and an " external proletariat ", the terms are again Toynbee's.

Our problems are three : Communism, the growth of nationalism in the Far East and the disunity of Europe. Of these Communism is the most dangerous, though here the spiritual forces of the West *should* and *could* be victorious, were they properly marshalled. The threat from Asian nationalism can be met by understanding ; Asian national expression is not inconsistent with national feeling and international co-operation in the West. The disunity of Europe is being repaired.

Mr de Beus has considerable praise for the post-war recovery of Western Europe—a sure sign that the creative energy of its peoples is still the dominant

factor. What is most urgently needed is co-operation, leading towards a federal structure. Here he shows himself more American than European, for he seems to underestimate the problems involved in these co-operative efforts. He is too sanguine about the European Defence Community, the prospects of which have darkened since he wrote. In his assessment of American energy and genius and of the qualities of the Western Europeans he is clear-minded, objective and, on the whole, an optimist.

The book is a useful introduction to the general international problems of our Western world. It is no more than that, and I think it would have treated of its theme more adequately had it remained on the narrower platform of the 1940- and 1950-ties instead of whirling along the vast spaces of Sumeric, Mayan, Iranic and other civilizations.

JOHN MURRAY

THE SPANISH TEMPER. By V. S. Pritchett. Chatto and Windus. London. 1954. Pp. 220. 15s.

I must confess that I started to read this book with a certain prejudice. This was not the author's fault, nor indeed mine, but that of a reviewer in a London Sunday newspaper. After all, reviewers, unlike jurymen, cannot be expected to remain *incomunicado* and to deny themselves the pleasure of reading other reviewers. This particular reviewer must have collected from Mr Pritchett's volume all possible comments on Spanish poverty, and especially upon the clash between poverty and ostentation, and any evidence he could find of the unpopularity of General Franco. He seemed to be saying : " There you are. I told you so ". Here, thought I to myself, must be yet another of those anti-Franco, fundamentally anti-Spanish, outpourings.

But the book is not that, in the least, and the London reviewer has done a disservice to Mr Pritchett. I am prepared to believe that Mr Pritchett does not much care for General Franco, from casual remarks he lets fall which echo the conventional Left-wing interpretation of Spanish affairs. His spiritual affinities would appear to be with the Spanish Liberals who played a significant part in Spanish life from 1898 till the nineteen thirties. But he is not primarily interested in politics and, in any case, he knows Spain too well to indulge in facile condemnation.

The special attraction of the book is in the fact that its author does know Spain and is fascinated by Spain and its people. He lived there for four years in the 1920-ties and returned twice of late to find Spain much as he had known it earlier. The book is slight and sketchy : indeed it consists of a string of sketches, around which have been woven the author's musings upon Spanish habits and Spanish character. To say that he finds the Spaniards a contradiction and a puzzlement is merely to indicate that he knows them. A clear analysis of Spanish character that raised no problems and brooked no inconsistencies would mean that the analyst had completely missed the point of the analysis. Mr Pritchett is conscious of the *clash* (" balance " will not quite do) between Spanish reserve and dignity and, to the other side, the tireless, never-ending conversations, that remind him aptly of " knitting " : " One feels one is watching someone knitting, so fine is the detail, so repetitious the method." He

detects again the contrast of apathy which is almost fatalism—the *Nada* or nothing—with that burning vitality that can flash forth with all the intensity of a storm : the contrast between the ideals of the visionary and the rude and earthy cynicism that is wholly without illusion. Sancho Panza, the squat retainer, is every bit as Spanish as the wild, fantastic Don Quixote. Nowhere is life seen so realistically as in Spain : yet nowhere, at least in Western Europe, do ordinary material things, such as money, comfort and " security " matter as little as among the Spaniards.

Where Mr Pritchett excels is in some of his descriptions. They can be haunting and evocative, as when he speaks of the magic of *light* in Castile.

> Light, which in the North is thought of as something relative, as an arrangement of varying degrees of shadow, a changing and filtering of colour, and which has no colour, is here positive and absolute. In the hot weather the table land is like some lake or sea on fire ; in the cold weather the light goes up higher than any light we know and transmits the sight to distances our eyes are not accustomed to. Above all, since it brings so much more of the world to our eyes, it has the effect of a tremendous accession of the sense of life. Here most earthily and most powerfully one feels oneself alive.

That is so true, and it is so well expressed.

One feels the same sure touch in his view of the landscape at Gaudix or the flat-topped ridges on the Castilian upland, which, with the approach of night, fall into lavender pools and then into deep blue and at last violet. Then the vision becomes, he continues, " ghastly ", for the hills take on the colour of bruised bodies, the corpse colour of the dead Christs which Spanish artists paint with the realism of the mortuary. Elsewhere he speaks of Spanish landscape colouring as that of " the rusted knife, the bruised body, the bleached bone ".

Now, these pictures are impressive and haunting and, if one may use the word, they are " true ", even though the scene be studied by an artist's eye. I wonder, though, what would be made of them by someone who had never visited Spain. He would think it a *lunar* country, unlike any land of his own acquaintance. Mr Pritchett might argue that the Spanish scene is frequently a lunar scene. True, up to a point, yet hardly quite as lunar as all that. It may well be that he has himself employed too lavishly colours from that " Spanish " palette of the " rusted knife, the bruised body, the bleached bone."

But, contradition as Spain and Spaniards often are, Mr Pritchett has added contradictions of his own. He dubs them " totalitarian Christians ". That may be true, in the sense that they take religion with great seriousness, whether they embrace or reject its obligations. They see things in patterns of stark black and clear white, not in the swirling half tones of blue and grey of our Northern minds. Yet totalitarian in what other sense ? Mr Pritchett suggests that Philip II is an ancestor of modern totalitarian movements, yet he admits that nowhere was life more chaotic or more varied than in Philip's Spain. I can think of no people more stubborn and less fit for steam-rolling into a pattern of totalitarian orthodoxy than the inhabitants of Spain.

The chief weakness of the book is that Mr Pritchett has no profound understanding of Catholicism and therefore is ill equipped to assess Catholic life and influence among the Spanish people. It is glib and unreal to dismiss the Seville ceremonies of Holy Week as the most ornate and pagan processions in

Europe. He wounds St Ignatius of Loyola more severely than did the French attackers at Pampeluna, leaving him with two legs broken not one. At Manresa, St Ignatius, we learn, " wrote his *mystical* work, the Spiritual Exercises " : and these Exercises aim, Mr Pritchett assures the reader, " at the destruction of the imagination and the will, the reduction of the soul to the state of obedient automaton, but in arriving at this result they take the student through a terrible course of shamed self-knowledge and the subtleties of scruple. They give him, if he survives, a capacity and taste for power ". I find it difficult to reconcile this " capacity and taste for power " with the condition of " obedient automaton " to which Mr Pritchett has reduced those who make the Spiritual Exercises.

In one passage he describes vividly an old Spaniard praying in a church at Madrid before an image of Christ crucified. Tears ran down the old man's cheeks ; he kissed and caressed the feet of Christ and held them in his hands. Mr Pritchett's comment, which again reveals his lack of understanding of what he so graphically portrayed, is that the man was worshipping *carnally*. " What grief, what dread or longing the old man was thus transposing one could not know ". Really, Mr Pritchett. The old man, had you asked, could have given you the true reply. And, even though his words should falter, he knew in his bones and being the meaning of the Incarnation, that the Son of God revealed Himself in concrete, living form. It was not the old man that was transposing his earthly needs and sentiments into some illusion of the spirit : it was God Himself who had come down to humankind.

JOHN MURRAY

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. III. True Religion now Established. By Philip Hughes. Hollis and Carter. 1954. 42s.

FATHER HUGHES has carried his ambitious project through to a most successful conclusion, and we offer him our very sincere congratulations on what must have been a great physical as well as mental effort. This third volume lacks the dramatic quality of the story told in the second volume, with its tale of crisis and counter-crisis from the last years of Henry VIII, through the short reign of Edward VI, to the Marian reaction. Here the issue has been decided within a few weeks of the accession of Elizabeth. Sir William Cecil was there from the start ; he knew what he wanted to do, what needed to be done for the success of his policy, and he did it swiftly and very surely. The accident that both he and his Queen were able to work together for almost forty years gave them time to consolidate the victory of those first weeks. The story of the reign of Elizabeth I is thus almost monotonous in its consistency, from the special point of view which interests the author and the readers of this book.

The long chapters in which Father Hughes discusses such teachers of the new Reformed religion as Jewel or Whitgift make, I must confess, dull reading. Father Hughes is a theologian, with a theologian's interest in doctrine, and he is fully justified in examining Jewel's teaching or the popular catechetical teaching of the *Homilies*. But the going is hard at times, and it is refreshing to find in the sharp conflict between the Puritan Cartwright and Whitgift

something of the dramatic quality of the contestants under Henry VIII or Mary. Hooker is on a higher plane, and Father Hughes recognizes the importance of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* as a work that, more perhaps than any other, created a new Anglican theory of church policy and gave Anglican statesmen a sense of tradition.

The latter half of the volume is concerned with the recusant resistance. Here again Father Hughes is handicapped by the fact that the more dramatic episodes such as the mission of Persons and Campion, or the heroic story of the English seminarians, has been told so often and so well that he rightly prefers to concentrate on problems of leadership and policy. The early years of the reign are years of drift, brought to a sharp conclusion by Pius V's excommunication of the Queen in 1570. The story of how that bull came to be published, and the problem of the Pope's motives are of great interest ; and Father Hughes is at his best in his account of the episode. He claims that the known circumstances of the promulgation of the bull make nonsense of the old-fashioned version which represented the Dominican Pope as determined " to launch against Elizabeth the thunders of the Vatican ". The Pope, he argues, had been informed (and he adds in a footnote that " for the greater part of the reign Pius V had no really first-class adviser on whose experience to draw for questions of temporal affairs "), that the English Catholics were eager to rise against the Protestant Queen, but had scruples of conscience concerning their duties as loyal subjects. The bull was designed to ease those scruples. Neither the Pope nor his advisers seem to have had any real understanding of the probable effect of such an official declaration on the lives and fortunes of English Catholics. Every student of the period knows how sharp was the questioning that every missionary ppiest had to endure on this matter of divided loyalty ; but Father Hughes makes it very plain indeed that these priests died, not as traitors, but as martyrs for the Faith.

The story of the Catholic resistance is here taken more or less for granted. Father Hughes is more interested in his analysis of the new type of Catholic missionary priest, for whom the mission of Persons and Campion was the beginning of a new era, as compared with the men of an older generation. The story of Philip II's long hesitations, and of the final outcome in the Armada, is also taken largely for granted, though the failure of Philip's Armada is so final an event that this volume might almost have ended in 1588. The last years of Elizabeth's reign are years of such intense and complicated intrigue, with all men's eyes fixed on the question of the succession, that one feels here the beginning of a new story rather than the final stage of an argument that has now been settled for good. The fact that the letters of Father Persons after 1588 are not yet in print is another reason for hesitating to accept the story of these last years as based on sufficient documentation. Indeed a careful student will note that in his last chapter Father Hughes, for the first time in this long volume, is constantly citing documents from Dodd's *Church History,* as edited by Tierney in 1737–42, as his main source. These documents are open to suspicion as having been heavily sub-edited for purposes of propaganda ; but criticism of them would bring us straight into the endlessly complicated argument about the ' Archpriest controversy ' and the ' Wisbeach stirrs '. We must perhaps be patient, and wait yet awhile for further light. Father

Hughes seems at one point to accept the view put forward by Father Leo Hicks, that the new policy of making the overthrow of Protestantism in England dependent on a Spanish invasion was primarily the plan of Cardinal Allen, not of Persons—whose political activity has been much exaggerated, even by Jesuit scholars like Father Pollen. Allen had been an exile from England for most of his life, and Father Hughes is certainly right in stressing the familiar truth that exiles, no matter how noble their character, seldom or never can keep touch with the new generation that has grown to manhood in the homeland.

The last weeks of Elizabeth's reign saw the secret negotiations between the government and a group of thirteen secular priests, who were willing to denounce the Jesuit missionaries and their friends as traitors, provided that they themselves should be recognised as loyal subjects of the Queen. Their declaration makes it plain that the signatories will not obey any command from Rome that may involve them in a conspiracy against the Queen : ' we do think ourselves, and all the lay catholics born within her Majesty's dominions, bound in conscience not to obey this or any such like censure '. Father Hughes rejects Meyer's view, who held that this act of the thirteen priests was " a show of disobeying the Pope ", with a view to gaining the good will of the government. His own comment deserves to be quoted in full : " It is truer to say that these priests were, in a certain sense, men before their time, when they denied so explicitly that the popes had the right to compel subjects, by threats of excommunication, to rise against an excommunicated sovereign. At a time when the complex problem of the papal authority over Catholic princes was being discussed anew, and when a solution was emerging that seemed unpleasantly revolutionary to such a pope as, for example, Sixtus V, these English priests, in circumstances very far from academic, took to the knot the sword of over-simplification." Once again, we must wait for the publication of further evidence, and for a good deal more of this kind of careful balanced criticism, before we can pass judgment on men such as these thirteen priests, who most certainly had none of the heroic quality of Allen or Campion or Persons. But history often teaches us the lesson that men of high courage and high ideals may end by persuading themselves that the cause to which they have dedicated their lives demands the acceptance of a policy which may not win the loyalty of others, who have their own separate point of view.

AUBREY GWYNN

CHURCH AND STATE THROUGH THE CENTURIES : *A Collection of Illustrative Documents*. Edited and translated by Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morrall. Burns and Oates. 1954. 35s.

THE two editors of this volume have been on the staff of University College, Dublin, for the past four or five years ; and their joint volume is suitably prefaced by the College's President. It contains over six hundred pages of authentic and official texts, translated into English—many of them for the first time. The selection of texts is divided into eight chapters, of which the last brings the story down to our own times with documents such as the Lateran Treaty and Concordat between Italy and the Papacy ; the chief encyclicals

of Pius XI and Pius XII ; the full text of the Irish Constitution ; Pius XII's excommunication of Communists ; and the Czechoslovak Communist law on Church affairs (1949). The earliest texts go back to Trajan's short reply to Pliny's famous letter about the Christians in Bithynia (113) ; the Edict of Milan (313), by which the Christians were granted official toleration ; and the Edict of the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius (380), which made Christianity the official religion of the Empire.

Inevitably, where the range is so wide in time, the editors have been forced to omit documents that might fairly claim space in a larger volume. I miss the famous letters of St Ambrose to Theodosius the Great, and other patristic texts which are familiar to English students from the first volume of Carlyle's *History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* ; and the principles of Gelasius I are stated here in only one of that great Pope's letters. But greater generosity towards the thinkers of this earlier age would have compelled a heavy reduction in the more modern sections of the volume ; and many students will be grateful for the balance that has been kept. Most of the texts cited in the first two sections have appeared frequently in an English translation ; but the numbers of texts from the period 1433–1636 that are here printed for the first time in an English version is surprisingly high, and for that reason these texts are all the more welcome. They include the Compact with the Hussites (1433) ; the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) ; the Concordat of Vienna with Germany (1448) ; the Concordat of Bologna with France (1516) ; the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) ; the full texts of the Edict of Nantes (1598), and the Revocation of the Edict (1685) ; the religious clauses of the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ; with some very interesting and fundamental documents concerning the missionary work of the Church, notably Paul III's brief *Pastorale officium* (1537) on the treatment of the Indians in America, and the decree which named the Society of Jesus as the protector of the Indians in Paraguay (1636).

I have said enough to give a fair notion of the contents of this very useful volume. Students of these grave problems will find here a great wealth of documentation ; and the two editors have added short prefatory notes to each text, which are models of compressed statement and clear thinking. Let us hope that the success of this first volume will encourage them to further study of a problem that was never more topical than it is to-day. I may add that it has been for many years the central problem round which the teaching of European history has been planned in University College, Dublin.

AUBREY GWYNN

PIO NONO. By E. E. Y. Hales. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1954. Pp. 352+xiii. 25s.

IT is by no means illegitimate for a historian to express strong adherence to a particular polemical standpoint, provided that he does not allow such adherence to distort the faithful presentation of the material at his disposal. Mr Hales makes no secret of his belief of the essential rightness of Pius IX's struggles against the protagonists of "—the infallibility of progress, the moral authority

of majorities, and the omnipotence of the State." (p. xiii). Yet he deals scrupulously with his sources and his interpretation therefore has the right to serious consideration.

Pius IX has usually met with a bad press among English historians, who have been at a loss to understand how the " Liberal Pope " of the 1840's could have become the Pope of the *Syllabus Errorum* and the Vatican Council. Mr Hales suggests that there is consistency in Pius's outlook and policy throughout his Pontificate. Whether Bishop or Pope, he was always first and foremost a Churchman ; he was never a political thinker or a nationalist zealot, though in the early years of his reign he was mistakenly supposed to be both. Even as Bishop of Imola his criticism of Gregory XVI's repressive policies was due rather to emotional disgust with the unpromising condition of the Romagna than to any deep affinity with doctrinaire liberalism. Mr Hales compares the Romagna to Ireland at the same period ; he might also have drawn an analogy from a later period in Irish history. Gregory XVI's irregular police force, the " Centurions ", appears to have behaved rather similarly to the " Black and Tans ". After Gregory almost any Pope, politically speaking, would have seemed liberal ; it was Pius's misfortune that his reputation should have raised exaggerated hopes which no Pontiff would have found easy to satisfy.

Yet the extent of his reforms between 1846 and 1848 is sufficiently impressive. The reform of the judiciary and the broadening of the legislature, the introduction of railways and effective provision for the poor, were all developments which were not abandoned after the disillusions of 1848. At a time when *laissez-faire* economics were still unchallenged in Western " progressive " States, Pius IX recognized the need for some governmental intervention in the problem of poverty when he revived the old guild organizations in the Papal States.

Mr Hales follows the arguments of Mr and Mrs G. F. H. Berkeley in their authoritative work, *The Making of Italy,* when he contends that the real blame for the impasse of 1848–9 is to be shared between the Mazzinian anti-Catholic faction and the policy of Piedmont. The Mazzinians did not want Pio Nono's reforming experiment to succeed, for a liberal Pope was an embarrassing rival ; Piedmont wanted a rigidly unitary Italy under its own control rather than a federal Italy in which autonomous local groupings would be cemented by the moral leadership of the Papacy. The latter ideal, associated with Gioberti and the " Neo-Guelfs", had been favourably considered by Pius IX ; but the attempt in 1848 to stampede him into complete resignation of his temporal political power alarmed him, as it appeared to him to deny the Papacy the necessary background for its spiritual independence.

Despite this setback there were, as Mr Hales shows, periods during the reign when there was a real chance of an accord between the Papacy and the forces of Italian nationalism. If Cavour and his associates could have satisfied the Pope that his spiritual authority could be safeguarded in the new conditions, he might even have accepted the formula " a free Church in a free State ". But Cavour's anti-clerical legislation, particularly his attacks on the religious Orders, forced Pius IX to have a natural fear that the extension of Piedmontese rule would be inimical to the interests of the Church.

Preoccupation with the Italian problem may have had a myopic effect on Pio Nono's general policy. The *Syllabus Errorum* itself, so infuriating to northern liberals and so embarrassing to the Liberal Catholics, was pieced together from speeches and allocutions which had a primarily Italian context. The famous denunciation of " progress, liberalism and recent civilisation "comes, as Mr Hales points out, from an allocution of 1861 condemning "—the Piedmontese government's idea of what constituted progress and civilisation—" (p. 258). Yet it is to be regretted that the Pope's advisers issued the *Syllabus* in a form which made it a perfect target for misunderstanding and we can question, with Mr Hales, "—whether words—drawn from an encyclical specifically reprimanding the overrunning of Umbria and the Marches, should have been used as the conclusion to a Syllabus sent to Bishops at Birmingham and New York." (p. 260)

Mr Hales' character sketches of the many statesmen and leaders, secular and ecclesiastic, who cross his pages are shrewd and revealing. The same cannot always be said about his generalizations on more abstract questions; the medievalist, for example, may feel unhappy about the statement that the " alliance of Church and People against the state had been a commonplace of the Middle Ages." (p. 40). Mr Hales does not seem to realize the real difficulty of applying modern concepts like " the People " or " the State " to medieval conditions.

The bibliography contains an ample list of secondary sources, though Mr Hales disclaims any attempt at exhaustiveness. It is a pity that an otherwise well-produced book should be disfigured by a more than average number of misprints. A special mention should be made of the book's attractive dust-cover. This is made up of portraits of celebrated public figures of the age ; the task of identifying them should be a stimulating alternative to the more hackneyed parlour games.

John B. Morrall

SIR WILLIAM PETTY : *Portrait of a Genius*. By E. Strauss. London : The Bodley Head. 1954. Pp. 260. 25s. net.

Historical biography is at once the easiest and the most difficult form of historical writing. Almost every publishers' list produces a biography of the ' Life and Times ' variety in which a modicum of historical fact, drawn from half a dozen secondary sources is adorned with verbal flourishes to provide libraries with another volume of 250 pages. In many ways, Mr Strauss's book falls into this category and it is, indeed, a sad disappointment after his *Irish Nationalism and British Democracy*. (1952). I quote two examples of his method. He writes in one place that ' the mighty impetus of the historical wave, whose crest during the Puritan Revolution had lifted Petty, in common with his generation, far above the commonplace existence of a private individual, gave him a vision of distant shores, which he treasured in his mind long after this wave had receded '. These are rhetorical phrases which mean precious little. Again, in another place, Mr Strauss employs a literary artifice well known to biographers, of describing a painted portrait of his subject with a view to character analysis. We are told that Petty's ' beautiful grey eyes,

which were very short-sighted, seemed to regard the world from different angles and for different purposes'. 'How far this difference may be due to Petty's bad eyesight is difficult to determine, but it corresponds to the discordant elements of his complex character.' 'The right eye' Mr Strauss goes on, 'is more open and looks straight at the observer . . . it is the eye of a thinker gazing at the world with disinterested curiosity and with that melancholy which is the characteristic emotion of philosophers of all times.' 'The left eye is almost covered by a heavy lid and conveys a sense of watchfulness, scepticism and extreme cunning, which agrees perfectly with another side of Petty's character' (p. 146). Petty's picture on the book jacket gives the reader the opportunity to indulge in his own fancies.

Mr Strauss does not claim to add anything to the factual information already available on Petty's life and thought. His purpose, he claims, is at once 'more modest and more exacting'—the systematic use of this information for the reconstruction of Petty's life and character. It is difficult, however, to see how this task was more exacting and an analysis of a particular problem in Petty's career might well have thrown a good deal more light upon Petty's character than a dozen analyses of his portrait. (Cf. a recent article of only four pages in *Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research* for May 1954, on another seventeenth century economist, Thomas Mun.)

The only other convenient life of Petty was published in 1895 : it was written by Lord Edmond FitzMaurice, a name which recalls how Petty's daughter married a FitzMaurice, thus linking Petty's estates in Kerry with the family which later took the titles of Earl of Shelburne and Marquis of Lansdowne in the eighteenth century. This early life has its limitations. Its assumption of the universal validity of free trade and its criticism of Petty's economic writings from this standpoint is out of date. But it is difficult to see how Mr Strauss's book published in 1954 represents an improvement upon it. For Mr Strauss also has his prejudices. He tells us that Petty's gospel of work and productivity were the 'dominant ideas of the rising middle classes which had thrown off the semi-feudal relics of the past together with their allegiance to the king'. Elsewhere he speaks of the 'economic forces which were steadily increasing the weight of the middle classes'. The Marxist derivation of this is clear enough, but it is not the Marxism which is objectionable so much as the vagueness. Like Marx, Mr Strauss sees in Petty the original formulator of the labour theory of value and it is this and not the Down Survey which he regards as Petty's greatest achievement. Mr Strauss's attitude to Petty is similar to that of some Protestant historians towards Wycliffe : for him, Petty is the morning star of the Marxist Reformation. But Petty, to be really understood must be seen against the background of the seventeenth century, not the twentieth, or even the nineteenth. The fact that Marx found inspiration in Petty rather than Locke is beside the point. What we would really like to know is how far Petty was original and how far he was merely repeating clichés of later seventeenth century economic thought. Mr Strauss may be right in his insistence upon the importance of Petty's contribution to economic thought but a real judgment cannot be made without a full discussion of the historical background—and this Mr Strauss does not provide.

H. F. KEARNEY

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

THE ECONOMICS OF HEINRICH PESCH. By Richard E. Mulcahy, S.J. New York : Henry Holt. 1952. Pp. 228.

Father H. Pesch, S.J., (1854–1926) was one of the pioneers in the development of modern Catholic social and economic thought. Unfortunately, his writings, especially the five volumes of the *Lehrbuch der Nationalökonomie*, have not been translated into English and are almost unknown to the English-speaking world. The present work aims at remedying this great loss by setting out the main points of his economic doctrine. Pesch has been acclaimed as the leading Catholic economist in spite of the fact that he declared " the expression ' christian ' or ' Catholic ' economics . . . can be misunderstood. Economics is a natural discipline, it has to do with a natural ordering of economic life, therefore, with natural ethics " and " Catholicism gives to the world no economic system, it is committed to no definite economic position, it is tied to no particular economic system ". One can, however, call him a Catholic economist because he bases his teaching on the social philosophy developed by scholasticism but it should be remembered that this system is a creation of reason alone and can be accepted by those who are not Catholics. Furthermore not all Catholic social scientists have drawn the same conclusions from their common philosophic foundation, for example, the paternalistic system of Le Play was not acceptable to Pesch.

The part of Pesch's work best known to English-speakers is the social doctrine of solidarism which is opposed to both individualism and socialism. In spite of emphasizing the importance of the " group " he considers society not as something which is " one " but as something which possesses " unity ". He aims at the reconstruction of the social order by the establishment of " groups " which would be self-governing economic bodies, thus adding to the social order a middle entity between the individual and the state. On this social foundation he constructs his economics, in which, because of his interest in the general welfare rather than in private profit or utility he is nearer to Marshall than to Robbins, to Keynes than to Pigou. For him economics is concerned with a goal to be obtained. That goal is the providing for the material needs of the people which is the criterion by which the economist judges between the multitude of competing ends and means in economic action. Pesch thus differs radically from the more conventional position of Robbins that there are no economic ends. Fr Mulcahy shows clearly that in stressing the importance of a goal for the economy Pesch has many followers even among modern orthodox economists. Pesch would not agree with Robbins that the principle of economy is the ultimate criterion in economics because it is a principle that is broader than economics and is applicable to all phases of human activity. Hence it cannot be the specific criterion of a special science. One of the most helpful parts of this valuable book is the tabular statement of the differences between Pesch's doctrine and that of Robbins.

There are other novel features in Pesch's position which set him apart even from those economists who postulate a goal for the economy. In economic

theory the most commonly accepted position, when speaking about maximization and an optimum, is to refer to the maximization of the *satisfaction* of the consumer *i.e.*, subjective satisfaction. Pesch conceives of economic activity as aiming at something objective, in a physical sense. " If we speak of providing for the needs of the people, it should not therefore be said that economic study must take the path of a psychology of subjective pain and pleasure . . . Our study has in view not a pleasure sensation but the question of the sufficient provision of the people, especially at its broader, lower levels, with good, fair-priced food, clothing, shelter, with all the material goods which they require for the satisfaction of their wants ". It is here, perhaps, that many will raise their most serious objection against Pesch : how *objective* is the notion of material welfare ? Father Mulcahy has done an excellent piece of work in his reply to this question. The fact that there are different opinions on what is material welfare does not prove that the notion is purely subjective, because on the same line of reasoning the " common good " notion of the legal order would be equally subjective, which would mean that political theory represents no reality, and that nothing remains but power politics. " Most, if not all, of the disagreement concerns individual matters. But this is not a proof that the general notion is without meaning any more than the failure to agree about the income level at which a man may be classified as poor abolishes poverty ".

Pesch has given a relatively full treatment of the various parts of economics —consumption, production, value and price theory, distribution. The many quotations and references to modern economic literature given by Fr Mulcahy show that the ideas of Pesch are not unrelated to present day discussions and practical problems. By relating Pesch's doctrine to what appears to be the commonly accepted modern theory Fr Mulcahy has helped to throw new light on welfare economics. This book would be a most useful companion to Robbins' *Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science.* Especially valuable is the exposition of Pesch's treatment of the relation between economics and ethics. He teaches that economic theory cannot be dissociated from ethics. But this does not imply that the economist becomes a moral theologian any more than the chemist or engineer by accepting the laws of mathematics becomes a mathematician. Pesch insists that economics is an independent science, having its own formal object—the material welfare of the people. The concern of the economist is not to teach us about virtues and vices, but about the ways and means which lead to and preserve the material welfare of the people.

Even for those not engaged in the academic study of economics this book has some very helpful ideas. Today we are much concerned in Ireland with the question of price control. Pesch would accept state intervention only as a last resort and for particular commodities. He does not accept " free " competition or widespread state control. Instead he aims at establishing *order* in the market by the combined action of producers, consumers, the state, and vocational groups. He hoped to see consumer organizations which would cooperate in price determination by placing organized buyers opposite organized sellers. At the same time he calls for a redirection of spirit among consumers. They must not seek always to buy at the cheapest price but must be conscious of the " fair " price, which respects the legitimate profit of the producer and

corresponds to the requirements of an economically sound provisions for needs. All through his writings much emphasis is placed on the " spirit " that should inspire economic activity. The proper spirit is the effective acknowledgment of the welfare of the whole as the goal of the economic strivings of the individuals. Of importance is Fr Mulcahy's observation that in Pesch's solidarism the emphasis is not on the institutional framework, even though the vocational groups are an essential of the system. The vital factor is the spirit inspiring the persons organized in these institutions. Without the proper spirit the vocational group organization could be harmful to the nation.

KEVIN QUINN

FOUNDATIONS OF JUSTICE. A historico-critical Study in Thomism. By Jeremiah Newman. With a preface by Jacques Leclercq. Cork University Press. 1954. 12s. 6d.

THIS work is based upon the author's doctoral dissertation, presented in 1951 to the University of Louvain. It is a scientific elucidation of the meaning of the term *legal justice* in the writings of St Thomas Aquinas. As the title suggests, however, the investigation is set in the framework of a careful survey of the whole meaning and basis of Justice. This is a worthwhile inquiry at any time. *Justitia est fundamentum regnorum.* But, especially today, when the spectacular economic and social developments of the past two or three centuries have made the application of certain scholastic categories to modern problems a bewildering problem, moralists feel the need of going back to bed-rock principles and essaying new applications. The vogue during the past half-century of the somewhat novel term " social justice " is a symptom of this need. And anyone who is even slightly acquainted with the literature of scholastic ethics, knows how vague and conflicting are the opinions on the nature and scope of the type of Justice which is called " legal ".

This book falls into two well-defined parts ; the first, occupying five chapters, is a direct study of the text of Aquinas, the second (three chapters) traces the history of the notion from earliest times up to St Thomas, and subsequently to the present day. Both sections bear the marks of thorough scholarship. In the first part all relevant concepts (law, equality, the common good) are clarified, with all references carefully listed and many of the texts printed in full. The historical part is a great help towards understanding the mind of Aquinas and appreciating how subsequent scholastics departed from the teaching of the Angelic Doctor and hopelessly confused the issue.

Dr Newman's thesis is briefly as follows : current manuals of moral philosophy accept Ulpian's definition of the cardinal virtue of justice as " the constant and enduring will to give every one his due ". The majority divide this generic notion into three species : commutative, distributive and legal justice. Some, more accurately, deny that legal justice belongs to the cardinal virtue as defined ; hence this virtue has only two species. This latter view Dr Newman accepts, as also the general definition of legal justice as that virtue which directs the acts of all the other virtues to the common good. It is called *legal* because its requirements are formulated in laws, and it is exercised by the lawgiver in making laws and by the subjects in obeying them. " It is

the virtue which by making law and obeying law directs the acts of all the virtues to the common good ". (p. 7). So far nothing very new. Dr Newman's original contribution to the theory of legal justice is to show that in Aquinas's doctrine the " common good ", to which legal justice ordains all virtuous acts, is the common good of the Universe, not of the State merely ; and the laws which express the exigencies of this common good are not merely civil law but also divine and natural law, in a word, Law, with a capital L. Naturally, on such an obscure point, there is no overwhelming mass of evidence in Aquinas for the author's personal interpretation. He bases his argument mainly on one or two significant texts. But of these he makes the most, and his reasoning is persuasive.

I fear that this dry account of the contents of *Foundations of Justice* conveys the impression that the book is largely an academic exercise, out of touch with practical issues and live questions. This inference would be quite misleading. Dr Newman's pre-occupations are eminently practical, though he quite properly conducts his inquiry on a high, scientific level. From the standpoint of his established conclusion, he gives his views on such keenly-debated questions as : what is Social Justice ? are there such things as purely Penal Laws ? what is the meaning of the " common good " ? And his investigation into the social ideas of the great scholastics helps us more fully to appreciate the difference between Society and State, a difference fraught today with momentous consequences. His work is "surprisingly" readable, learned and, for a first book, full of promise.

MICHAEL CONNOLLY

MANUAL OF SOCIAL ETHICS. By Reverend James Kavanagh, B.A., S.T.L., Dipl.Econ.Sc. (Oxon). Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. 1954. Pp. vii+175. 6s.

FR KAVANAGH is eminently qualified to write an outline of social ethics suitable for Irishmen and Irish conditions. As Director of the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology he has had experience in teaching these principles to adult classes; consequently he knows what points should be emphasized and how they should be expressed. In addition he has had much practical experience of contact with the industrial life of Dublin, thus being able to speak with authority on our particular problems. A noteworthy feature of his work is the quotation from the Constitution of many articles dealing with the subject matter of the different chapters.

It would be difficult in the space of a review to mention all the topics he deals with but I should like to single out his chapters on Trade Unions and Strikes. He is not afraid to give his opinion on difficult questions, e.g. :—

> Our unions here are in the English secular non-denominational tradition. That is a fact of history. Our Bishops, however, consider them quite safe for Catholics, and I do not think it would be feasible or advisable to organise specifically Catholic trade unions. But Catholics (and the vast majority of our trade unionists are Catholics) should let their catholicism influence their trade union activity in every possible way.

He objects to the granting of exclusive rights of organizing workers to a particular union ; it may make for efficiency and uniformity, but it can also involve a serious invasion of individual rights by binding a man irrevocably to a particular union without any hope of escape. His words should be pondered by all union officials now that there is question of drafting new trade union legislation in order to avoid the difficulties of Part III of the 1941 Act : " it seems reasonable to grant exclusive negotiating rights to the union of the majority, but to insist on a person's remaining in a particular union is unjustified ". I would add that such exclusive negotiation rights should be given only for a term, e.g., 2 years, so that if the workers were not satisfied with the union which had this right they would be able to transfer to another and thus give it a majority of members for the next two years. Fr Kavanagh has given many long quotations from recent papal pronouncements that are not readily available in English and this alone makes his book very valuable. Its price is within the reach of all, a paper covered edition costing only four shillings.

KEVIN QUINN

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND. Vol. III. Edited by F. C. King, M.A., B.L. Dublin : Civics Institute of Ireland. 1954. Pp. xix +307. 18s.

IT is a regrettable fact that while the activities of the State through government departments, administrative tribunals, semi-state bodies, etc., have increased greatly in recent years the average citizen has little knowledge of how these institutions function. Among the chief causes of this ignorance is the scarcity of literature on our public administration. In editing these papers Mr King has done a service to those who wish to know how our Administration really works. In them nineteen experts take us behind the scenes to see things for ourselves.

Three papers deal directly with legislation. Mr McCarthy describes the preparation of a Bill and its various stages through the Dáil and Senate. " The Factory Acts " by Miss B. Stafford gives the measures taken by the State to protect the health, safety and welfare of workers. The peculiarities of our Trade Union Law are outlined by Mr Mortished. The organization and working of various Government Departments are concisely treated in a number of papers. Having read through this book the citizen will have a clear idea of how Administration works. Two papers " The citizen *versus* The State " by Mr O'Donoghue and " Administrative Tribunals " by Mr Grogan should cause him to reach for his copy of the Report on Vocational Organization. The Commission criticized the entrusting of so much power to civil servants : " There are other consideration of equal importance with efficiency, viz., the political and social consequences of entrusting all social control to officials. These consequences are the diminution of the liberty and democratic rights of the individual, an unwarranted increase in State authority with danger to its prestige and integrity, and a general decline in public spirit and initiative " (par. 673). Mr. King has written a most interesting Introduction in which he stresses this warning. This warning is necessary and so it may seem ungracious to criticize his statement

" Some rights are regarded as particularly sacred . . . They are specially guaranteed in the Constitution and can be altered or abolished only by the same means by which the Constitution itself is amended, that is to say, as a general rule, by the direct decision of the people ". This is true of some of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but there are others which cannot be abolished even by the direct decision of the people, because they do not come from the people ; they belong to a citizen by the very fact that he is a human being.

KEVIN QUINN

THE MEANING OF BELIEF

LIVING CHRISTIANITY. By Michael de la Bedoyere. London : Burns Oates. 1954.

FAITH AND MODERN MAN. By Romano Guardini. London : Burns Oates. 1953.

MEDITATIONS AND DEVOTIONS. By John Henry Newman. London : Longmans. 1953.

WHAT LAW AND LETTER KILL. The Spiritual Teaching of Fr Francis Devas, S.J. Edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. London : Burns Oates. 1953.

MR DE LA BEDOYERE'S book, which he calls a " personal essay ", is a lucid, exciting and timely treatment of a very actual problem : the problem of bringing people, and in particular " good Catholics ", to understand what religion is all about. For Mr de la Bedoyere it is a personal problem. He was brought up in circumstances very favourable to religion and educated in a great Jesuit public school which made such a good impression on him that he tried his vocation for some years in the Society of Jesus. On his return to lay life he took up Catholic journalism as a career, with all the Catholic contacts and the insight into Catholic life involved in such work. Everything seemed to conspire to give him a deep and inward understanding of Catholicism. Yet, he tells us himself, " I feel that it has taken me some fifty years of life as a Catholic to come to understand a little of what Christianity in its fulness really means ". Circumstances were, however, particularly favourable to him and by dint of much reading, thought and experience of Catholic life, he has come, as his book proves, to have a very thorough understanding indeed of the meaning of Christianity. But, what of people who do not move in circumstances as favourable to religion as his ? Many loyal and sincere good Catholics seem to discover the meaning of Christianity late in life, if at all. Mr de la Bedoyere finds, and there are many who agree with him, that far too many good Catholics, in spite of all the instruction they have received and of the discipline and training they have undergone in religion, in spite too of their sincere loyalty to the Church and their aesthetic approval of the Catholic way of life, never seem to grasp the central fact of religion at all.

For them religion is a body of dogma that has to be more or less understood and accepted, a number of devotions more or less obligatory to be practised and a set of moral precepts that have to be obeyed. Religion, although loyally and sincerely accepted, is imposed externally and is a complication

rather than a simplification of life. It may assume great importance on great occasions such as a first Communion, or it may give strength and consolation in times of sorrow and crisis. But apart from that and outside church, if it be not a worry and a nagging encumbrance, religion can be something admirable indeed but apart from, and of very little help in, the effort to live. In other words, " good Catholics " sometimes do not get their money's worth from religion. For too many Catholics the idea of religion as the great central fact, bringing harmony and proportion and a sense of direction into every detail of life is unthought of. That is Mr de la Bedoyere's problem. How is one to bring these sincere Catholics to understand Christianity so that, living Christianity, they may benefit from its wisdom.

They see religion as a duty merely, not realizing that part of the obligation of religion arises from its being natural to man and a spontaneous expression of his very being. Because religion is natural to man it is necessary to him. Because of the kind of being he is, man must be religious if he is to be fully man ; and, therefore a failure to appreciate religion and the nature of the religious attitude brings with it inevitably a failure to make actual the potential promise of man's nature. A man who is not religious is not fully alive. A man who does not understand the religion he practises is not fully alive either, and condemns himself to live in a shadow-world, where the material elements, the rushing brief contingency of time and the isolation of spatial separateness prevail, and make his vague but irrepressible longing to be master of his life seem a mocking chimera. Such a man finds that the bits and pieces of religion that he believes and practises are of little use to him because he has no consciousness of the organic whole in which these bits and pieces exist and have their meaning.

The main fact of religion, the essence, the heart of the matter is (as many Christians come to realize) the tremendous fact of God. The central fact of God, Mr de la Bedoyere thinks, once grasped and possessed, would lead Catholics to a full understanding of their faith and urge them to carry over to the world at large the meaning of Christianity ; " the *fact* of God, the meaning of God, the relevance of God, the nearness of God, the answer which *is* God." First of all, we must realize and convey to others God as we discover Him by " unaided " reason ; God Who is the Supreme Reality from Whom all other reality flows and in Whom all reality has its explanation. God is Infinite, Eternal, Immanent and Transcendent, present to and in His creation and yet infinitely separate. When these facts have been realized and absorbed the message of Revelation strikes us with tremendous power. The Eternal, Omnipotent, Personal, Supreme Reality we learn, with a breath-taking shock, is Father and is Love.

In the light of this central truth Mr de la Bedoyere reads the meaning of the Catholic Faith. In its light he brings dogmatic truths together in a vital synthesis throwing light on God and on one another and on all creation. Devotional practices take their place in order of importance. Moral precepts are seen for what they are ; not restrictions of man's liberty but expressions of his finality, of his tendency to participate as far as he can in the Being of God. God, because He is Love, assumed human nature in the Incarnation and so consecrated, as it were in a new way, the whole material creation. Christ, the God-Man, instituted the visible Church and the sacramental system,

a prolongation of His presence among men, a further consecration of matter, a further impregnation of matter by spirit. All reality is lucid with the lucidity of God and Christianity is life in all its aspects ; life made clear and happy with the clarity and the joy of God.

Mr de la Bedoyere suggests that this approach to religion is a mystical one. Perhaps he is using his journalist's flair for picking the right word to attract the most eyes, for he knows, of course, that his presentation of the Faith is dogmatic and ontological and not mystical, except in so far as Christianity is what we have come to call a *mystique,* or in the very broad sense that the Faith must be grasped and lived by the grace of God working inwardly and unseen. It must be granted however, with enthusiasm, that it is by contemplation that the fact of God is realized, and Mr de la Bedoyere is in accordance with sane and wise Catholic spiritual direction in claiming (with a certain modest hesitation) that by contemplating the truths of religion a man will make moral progress quicker than by being excessively preoccupied with himself. The whole idea of the book is indeed traditional although we are inclined to forget the fact. Even so orthodox a person as St Ignatius of Loyola begins his Spiritual Exercises with meditations on God and man's relation to God and these ideas are intended to dominate the whole retreat. Neither is there anything *avant-garde* to shock susceptibilities in Mr de la Bedoyere's conclusions, even when he makes sensible remarks about a use of the vernacular in the liturgy. Once the main fact of religion is grasped, all the traditional pieties and devotions take on their right meaning and occupy their real place. But, of course, anyone who thinks like Mr de la Bedoyere will find more than enough to occupy him in contemplating and living the main mysteries of religion ; the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the Mother of God, the Sacrifice of Redemption continued in the Mass, Christ's presence to us in the sacraments, the Mystical Body of Christ. To think like this is to simplify, while deepening, the spiritual life. *Living Christianity,* fresh and vital as books written by laymen on religion tend to be, should be in the hands of everyone who has to teach the Faith to others.

Romano Guardini's *Faith and Modern Man* is just the book to take up when you have finished *Living Christianity* and before your ardour has cooled. Mr de la Bedoyere says, with great truth, that the way to make the fact of God real for oneself is reading and meditating the Scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament. This is what Romano Guardini does in the 12 chapters of his book. These twelve essays, we read in the preface, " have a special history ". They were written during World War II. " At that time, a group of writers in Germany tried to find ways and means of informing and strengthening the minds of bewildered and harassed people, particularly the young. What was needed, we felt, was a restatement, in terms of contemporary life and experience, of the eternal spiritual and human verities." Most of the chapters were preached in Berlin " to an audience of the most varied background, including all denominations, threatened from without by air raids and from within by the ever-present secret police ". One can imagine the power in such circumstances of essays such as " God's Patience ", " The Lordship of Christ," " Providence " and " Faith as Overcoming." The result is great wisdom in a small compass ; a wisdom that has the bare austerity, the warmth

and the space of a Cistercian church. The restatement is of the kind that is and will always be valid. Soaked in Scripture and the dogmatic sources, speaking with his own original accent, Romano Guardini persuades the reader to push through the cliché to the underlying dynamic truth ; a truth which often he can only glimpse hidden in the mystery of God. The translation, by Charlotte E. Forsyth of the Catholic University of America, reads beautifully.

It may seem strange to pass from these writers to Cardinal Newman. But many of the most fruitful of modern ideas come from Newman, and Longmans' well produced new edition of the *Meditations and Devotions* will be welcomed by most people. The little book, with its granite phrases and for all its gentle melancholy, is a valuable help to prayer for modern people and, as we read, the years roll back and we are at Oriel or Littlemore, alone with a mind filled with the fact of God.

The selection from Fr Devas' sermons and instructions is quite different. Fr Devas rarely wrote his sermons so that the book is the result of the untiring and devoted efforts of a team of stenographers who followed him around from one church or lecture hall to another. Surely a remarkable tribute of appreciation and devotion ! It is probable that those who knew Fr Devas will catch the very tone of his voice in these excerpts. Even for those of us who never knew him, there emerges the picture of a man who loved Christ, very sane and with an endearing predilection for all lame dogs or under dogs. This is a book for occasional reading ; perhaps for the bed-side.

JOHN C. KELLY

CHINESE THOUGHT

CHINESE THOUGHT. By H. G. Creel. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1954. 21s.

ONE hundred and fifty years before Plato journeyed to Syracuse and began his unhappy attempt to put into practice his theories on state-craft and laws, another philosopher was travelling the roads of China. Confucius, at the age of fifty, had begun his ten-year search for a ruler who would accept him as his Minister and law-giver. He never found one. Perhaps it was as well that he did not, for Confucianism as it was in its purest early form, with scant respect for authority and great stress upon individual judgment and conscience, seems better adapted to the ethical training of personal character than to ruling a turbulent Chinese state. When he died in his early seventies, Confucius had spent most of his life as a teacher of philosophy, a teacher of the ' Way '. He undoubtedly considered himself a failure, and believed that his teachings would scarcely survive many decades after his death in 479 B.C. In fact, he is perhaps the best known Chinese who ever lived, and his moral teachings achieved the position of a state religion under the Sung, Ming and Ching dynasties during the last thousand years.

The early Jesuit missionaries who became expert in the interpretation of Chinese classics, admired Confucius for the closeness to Christianity of some of his moral teaching. At the base of his system was his belief in man's integrity : " If I feel in my heart that I am wrong, I must stand in fear even though

my opponent is the least formidable of men. But if my own heart tells me that I am right, I shall go forward against thousands and tens of thousands." Rather against his own inclinations he became the founder of the first school for higher education in China. Since he himself was not afforded the opportunity of reforming the world, he determined to have the reform carried out by disciples. He was not interested in education as an end in itself. All his teaching was aimed at preparing his students to go out into the world to work and struggle for his principles. As a result of their training, his disciples were expected to be ready at all times to lay down their lives for their principles. Many did so, dying under the executioner's axe for daring to criticize an erring ruler.

The thought of Confucius and of the Chinese philosophers who followed him is not the *philosophia perennis* as we of the West understand the term. Their thought is almost always directed towards producing the ' gentleman ', the virtuous man, who will act according to the true principles of the ' Way ' of Confucius. Wang Yang-ming, a fifteenth century Confucian, sums up the content of Chinese philosophy when he says : " To know and yet not to do, is in fact not to know ". Dialectics and metaphysics were made little account of, and regarded rather as frivolities. Indeed some followers of Mo Tzu who discussed the problem of ' universals ' were criticized by the Confucianists, as being " blinded by words, and not knowing reality ". Even the Taoist nature-mystics are more concerned with improving the morals of men than with an investigation into the first causes in Nature.

Let it not be imagined, however, that Professor Creel's book, *Chinese Thought,* is a series of turgid essays ponderously unravelling two thousand years of written Chinese wisdom. This is a bright book with a purpose. It is an attempt to explain to the West why China has turned towards Russia and Communism. His thesis is simple. A well-nigh complete lack of understanding of Chinese character, culture and classical thought has led the Western nations and America to treat the Chinese with contempt, and driven the proudest people on earth into the Russian maw. " Chinese and dogs not allowed ", posted up in the public parks in Shanghai, was the sort of notice calculated to infuriate the Chinese, who for centuries have believed themselves the most cultured and intelligent of men. This book deals with the background to modern thinking in China. It traces the streams of philosophic thought and their moulding of Chinese history, from Confucius and his scholars down to the present day. Perhaps the best part of Professor Creel's work is his analysis of Russia's overtures to the young Chinese Republic, and her final victory in the China of Mao Tse-tung. A weakness in an otherwise very readable and scholarly book is the overemphasis laid on the pragmatic and materialistic strain in Chinese thought. Professor Creel is apparently much influenced by the opinions of Hu Shih, one of the leaders of the literary revival which flowered in the early years of the Republic. Hu Shih is a pragmatist of the Dewey school, an atheistic materialist who has recently shown existentialist tendencies. His metier is literature rather than philosophy. One wonders how far he is responsible for Professor Creel's unwillingness to see Confucius as a deist.

Finally, it is surely one of the great ironies of human fame that Kuo Mo-jo, a vice-president of the present Pekin Government, should hail Confucius not only as a champion of the common people, but also as a fomenter of armed rebellion ! It seems that Confucius, to whom sacrifice was offered by Imperial decree, is now to find his tablets reposing in the bleak halls of Communist latter-day saints. That Red China should pay even lip-service to Confucius is indicative of the place he still holds in the minds of the Chinese people.

John Gannon

Mohenjo-Daro and the West

STUDIES IN PROTO-INDO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE. By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. Vol. I. Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute. 1953. Pp. cix+542. £14.

When the excavations in the Indus Valley at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, and Chanhu-Daro astonished the learned world by the revelation of an advanced, ancient civilization, it was at first assumed that its creators were the Aryan invaders of India. It had been taken for granted that their culture was far more developed than that of their Dravidian predecessors in the land. And students of Indian archaeology and history were not prepared to believe it when Sir John Marshall, the excavator of Mohenjo-Daro, advanced reasons to show that this great civilization was, after all, Dravidian and not Aryan. However, the strength of the evidence is such that the old belief in the low culture of the ancient Dravidians has been generally abandoned and they are acknowledged to have been the creators of the Indus Valley cities.

This Dravidian origin of the civilization naturally gave a new turn to efforts to decipher the Mohenjo-Daro script and this work was taken up with enthusiasm by Fr Heras, the Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute at Bombay. He has now read over a thousand of these inscriptions, which are mostly inscribed on seals. As these, like the Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphs, are pictographic in origin, his method was to fix on those most obviously similar to known objects, such, for example, as the recurring fish sign, and then to seek by comparative study of the existing Dravidian languages for the proto-Dravidian form of the corresponding words. With these as a basis it was possible to proceed to the elucidation of the less easily recognizable signs. The only element of truth in the charge that the decipherment is based on modern Tamil seems to be that this language has provided more roots than others such as Tulu and Kannada.

The age attributed to the Indus Valley towns is based on its priority to the Sumerian civilization. Since results of the excavations became known students have been struck by various analogies and similarities existing between the newly discovered Indian culture and the lands of the Middle East. Thus Claude Schaeffer in his Schweich Lectures on the fruits of his excavations at Ras Shamra remarked on the obvious relation of the painted pottery of the fourth millennium in Syria to that which flourished on the Iranian plateau and as far afield as the valley of the Indus. And this same similarity had been previously noted by Gordon Childe. The striking resemblance of the new script to that of the Sumerians had aroused general astonishment. H. R. Hall

pointed out the resemblance of the ancient Sumerian to the Dravidian ethnic type of India. But in which direction had the influence spread? Perhaps not unnaturally the tendency had been to think in a west-eastward direction. But Hall considered it 'by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers'. And he conjectured that the Sumerian script was invented in India, perhaps in the Indus valley, passed from a purely pictographic to a stylized form, eventually to develop its wedge-shaped figures when impressed on malleable clay with a right-angled stylus in Babylonia.

This is the main thesis of Fr Heras's learned volume. The Indus civilization spread westward by migration. The first wave reached Sumer in southern Babylonia by way of the Persian Gulf. The memory of this arrival by sea was preserved down to the third century B.C. when Berossus committed it to writing in his history of Babylonia. In the course of the long centuries history had passed into myth and the story ran that a being named Oannes, half man and half fish, had swum up the Persian Gulf and brought with him to Sumer the arts of civilization. Fr Heras makes the attractive suggestion that the fish element owes its origin to the invaders having been members of the important tribe of Minas, whose name means precisely 'fish'. He also finds a Dravidian origin for the name Oannes in Uanna or Uvanna, which is still known among the Tulu population and has the meaning of 'the eldest brother of the flower'. For this Dravidian origin of the Sumerians our author accumulates arguments extending to well over a hundred pages. The next step in expansion is treated at even greater length. This time the goal of the wanderers was the valley of the Nile as that of the first colonists had been from the Indus valley to that of the Twin Rivers. The thesis is that one body came overland from Sumer to invade the Delta from the north and another journeyed by sea from India finding their way into Egypt from the Red Sea by way of the Wady Hammamat. On the way they made an intermediate halt colonizing southern Arabia. Here also evidence of the Minas is found in the name Minaeans given by the Greeks to the inhabitants of that country. Incidentally Fr Heras makes a strong case for the identification of the Land of Punt with southern Arabia the home of frankincense, cinnamon, and myrrh. From Egypt further expansion took place by way of the north of Africa to reach Spain, where the new-comers received the name of Iberians. Thence, following an inborn migratory urge, they reached as far as Britain, where the Druids are said to have been of the same race, and on into Ireland.

The thesis is supported by a wealth of evidence and apt surmise, which merit close examination. No such bold reconstruction of history ever meets with prompt acceptance and only time will show whether the detailed sifting of the arguments will in the end find the case established. Scholars will find themselves supplied with abundant material to work on, for the case as seen from the Indian standpoint has not been well-known in the West. Disagreement on various points of detail is inevitable. Thus the argument is not helped by the Vulgate reading in Genesis chap. 11 where the proposal is made to build a tower before dispersal, as if some of the inhabitants were planning a migration. The Hebrew reading, undoubtedly the original, has 'lest we be scattered'. The building of the tower and city was to prevent dispersal.

The author is to be congratulated on the feat of writing such a book in a language other than his own. At the same time the wish may be expressed that future volumes promised in the series will be read through by a native speaker before being sent to the press, and further that a careful proof-reader be employed before they finally issue from it. The omission of either of these desirable means cannot but provide the reader with unwelcome distractions. Finally it may be hoped that the book has not priced itself out of the market. The high cost is no doubt due to the abundance of the foot-notes, the rich provision of illustrations, 316 in number, and the frequent reproduction of Mohenjo-Daro script.

EDMUND F. SUTCLIFFE

STUDIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S RELIGIO MEDICI. Edited from the manuscript copies and early editions by Jean-Jacques Denonain. Cambridge University Press. 1954. 25s.

Religio Medici was written (probably) in 1635 : in Part II, Section 11, Browne wrote : " Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years . . ."

Eight manuscript copies of the work are known to exist at the present time, but none of these is in the author's handwriting : the original drafts and the transcripts which Browne prepared for circulation among his friends have disappeared. All manuscripts now extant were transcribed from previous and more or less correct copies by other hands : no two are precisely similar.

In 1642 Andrew Crooke, a piratical publisher, obtained a manuscript (not one of the eight now extant) and printed it anonymously. A second edition was printed before April 1643. Yet when Browne in that year authorized " a true and full copy ", he gave it, " characteristically enough ", as Professor Herford has remarked, to the same Andrew Crooke. This version, however, was merely a partially corrected and rearranged copy of the first spurious issue : the 1643 edition, despite its " authorization ", has no real claim to represent Browne's original intention.

Religio Medici was reprinted ten times between 1643 and 1682 : the latter edition has commonly been used as the standard text in recent reprints, having been published as " corrected and amended " shortly before Browne's death in the same year. However, as Dr W. A. Greenhill (1881 edition) has pointed out, several of the errata noted in the authorized version of 1643 had not been corrected even in 1682 : this latter edition, it would appear, was not closely supervised by Browne. Professor Denonain emphasizes that it is, in fact, no more authoritative than the edition of 1678. When we reflect that the best generally available edition of Browne (that by Geoffrey Keynes, in six volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1928-1931) follows the general practice of using the corrupt 1682 version as the basis of the *Religio Medici* text, the desirability of a completely new scholarly text becomes clear.

Professor Denonain has now come to the rescue of students of Browne with a text of *Religio Medici* which is unlikely to be superseded. He has collated the manuscript and printed versions and has provided a new text by choosing

from the available evidence. This has meant, for instance, that 360 readings from the earlier manuscripts have been preferred to those repeated by the printed editions and have been restored to the text. Professor Denonain justly claims that the text as now compiled represents " as nearly what Browne actually wrote as may be wished, before copyists or printers tampered with it ".

A few examples must suffice to indicate the nature of the new text. In Part I, Section 13, editions 1642–43–85 have the following :

> " ; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest Idea's of goodnesse ; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him, his actions springing from his power at the first touch of his will."

Professor Denonain changes " make but " to " are not " and with fine insight explains Browne's real meaning : " Before the creative act of the Will, there occur in man's mind two motions, which are ' consultation ' and ' election '. These two preliminary motions have no place in the mind of God, in which nothing precedes the creative act ordered by God's Will ". This reading must gladly be accepted : it gives a final and characteristically Brunonian significance to the whole passage.

We are in Professor Denonain's debt not merely for a splendidly improved text, but for a number of important additions to the standard text drawn from the Pembroke College, Oxford manuscript. There are twenty such major additions, one of the most significant being Browne's definition of death in alchemical terms in Part 1, Section 39 :

> " I have therefore forsaken those strict definitions of death by privation of life, extinction of naturall heate, separation etc. of soule and body, and have fram'd one in an hermeticall way unto mine owne fancie : *est mutatio ultima qua perficitur nobile illud extractum Microcosmi,* for to mee that consider things in a naturall and experimentall way, man seemes to bee but a digestion, or a preparative way unto that last and glorious Elixar which lies imprison'd in the chaines of flesh."

On the basis of Professor Denonain's success with *Religio Medici,* it is to be hoped that he will now turn his attention to the many corruptions which mar the texts of other Browne works : *Urne Burial,* for instance, despite the many useful emendations made by Keynes in the 1658 quarto text, is still badly in need of examination.

Now that a satisfactory text of *Religio Medici* is available, the task of annotation may be tackled with some confidence.

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE PATTERN OF TRAGICOMEDY IN BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER. By Eugene M. Waith. Yale University Press (Geoffrey Cumberlege). 25s.

A REVIVAL of interest in Beaumont and Fletcher is long overdue. That it has not come with the modern revaluation of Jacobean drama is partly due, one must suppose, to the fact that in his splendid essay on Jonson (1919) Mr Eliot found it necessary to describe the verse of Beaumont and Fletcher as " superficial ". This stricture is not far removed from Lamb's, and it may even be

related to Coleridge's criticism that " the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher are mere aggregations without unity "[1].

While Coleridge's comments on Beaumont and Fletcher are contained in a rather peevish and inferior lecture, the sentence quoted has a certain validity. It is characteristic of Beaumont and Fletcher to subordinate the claims of naturalistic character-portrayal to those of immediate dramatic effectiveness ; to sacrifice consistency to virtuosity. A significant instance is the presentation of the Panthea-Arbaces relationship in *A King and no King* : in his consideration of this play Mr Waith writes :

> *A King and no King* . . . has no meaning. It says nothing about incest, pride, jealousy, or wrath, but it presents an arrangement of dramatic moments in which these passions are displayed. Each moment has its meaning, but the whole has none that can be readily defined. Release from the bondage of a total meaning which connects and controls each detail of the pattern not only gives the moment of powerful feeling a greater relative importance . . . but also facilitates the contrivance of such moments. An isolated phrase is free to evoke its response by means of associations which may be quite irrelevant to the context, by a rhythm, a sequence of sounds, or an allusion which may suggest something slightly different to every listener " (p. 41).

Mr Waith shows that in the cult of immediate theatrical effectiveness in Beaumont and Fletcher contrast becomes a ritual of primary application. In *A Wife for a Month,* for example, the dramatic potency of the unexpected entails the deliberate neglect of consistency in character-presentation. But Mr Waith might profitably have gone further into the implications of this deliberate choice throughout the plays : he might well have related this cult of contrasting situations to the four-square rigidity of Beaumont and Fletcher's intellectual and moral world. What primarily separates Beaumont and Fletcher from Shakespeare is the fact that the Beaumont and Fletcher plays are written out of a world of moral absolutes which admit of no question or ambuiguity : they are written out of " the willed and rigid stance on one set of assumptions maintained by the resolved suppression of another "[2]. What they lack, therefore, is not simply Coleridge's " unity " : it is poise, the Shakespearean and Keatsian ability seriously to entertain the claims of conflicting values.

The comments of Mr Waith which I have quoted are typical of the high level of intelligence on which his book is written. He has studied the Beaumont and Fletcher plays with great care and he has found that most of them reveal a tragicomic pattern shaped by the rhetorical tradition of Senecan declamation. He is blessedly clear in his exposition and he shows the tragicomedies as merging the conventions of satire and of pastoral romance.

It seems to me that the book proves its main point, and that in most cases the point throws a welcome light on plays which have often been found puzzling and incoherent. Indeed, I remain unconvinced in the case of one play only,

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[1] Coleridge's Lectures on Shakespeare and other poets and dramatists. Everyman's Library edited by Ernest Rhys (1907) p. 240-1.

[2] John F. Danby : *Jacobean Absolutists.* The Cambridge Journal. June 1950.

Cupid's Revenge. Mr Waith tries to show that this play is " more like tragicomedy than tragedy " (p. 14). This view is unacceptable : the tone of the play is fairly and unmistakably represented by the final speech of Agenor :

" Go ! and let the trumpets sound
Some mournful thing, whilst we convey the body
Of this unhappy prince into the court,
And of that virtuous virgin to a grave !
But drag her to a ditch, where let her lie,
Accurs'd, whilst one man has a memory ! "

If this fits into a tragicomic pattern, so does *Hamlet.* Here Mr Waith has allowed his pet pattern to lead him into a strained interpretation of the play : the same tendency is also seen in the perfunctory accounts which he gives of those Beaumont and Fletcher plays which cannot by any stratagem be enticed into the pattern.

These complaints, of course, do not invalidate Mr Waith's general argument : not do they reduce to any appreciable extent the real value of his book.

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE IDENTITY OF YEATS. By Richard Ellmann. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. London : 1954. 25s. net.

FEW critics of Yeats are sensible about his philosophical system : those who rush to defend it are now being ousted by the sceptics. William Becker, for instance, has recently praised Miss Koch's study for its " correctly irreverent attitude to *Yeat's* ' ideas ' " (*Poetry,* February 1953). The tendency to throw ' A Vision ' down the drain is becoming fashionable, but this is to miss the real point that Yeats's system with its Gyres and Cones, its Masks and Bodies of Fate is a contrived myth designed to allow an inclusive formulation of the natural and the supernatural. The myth must therefore be seen as Yeats's answer to the felt necessity of uniting intellect and emotion : the science of Huxley and Tindall had to be included and transcended. From this point of view we may all agree that ' A Vision ' is scientifically untrue : the charge, indeed, becomes irrelevant since the imaginative truth of the myth, that truth which is proved, for example, by the ' Byzantium ' poems, easily evades the scientific test.

Richard Ellmann is an intelligent critic and has no difficulty in seeing that the question of the validity of Yeats's system, apart from Yeats, apart from the poems, does not arise. He is therefore free to explain that system quietly and efficiently without involving himself or his readers in any irrelevant side-line discussions. His general view of Yeats is that the poet's themes and symbols were fixed in youth and were thereafter renewed with increasing vigour and directness to the end of his life : the substitution of one symbol for another is likely to conceal their equivalence.

This view seems to me to be fully justified and worth the labour of critical exposition. But there is a snag : how can the reader of this book be sure that his conception of symbolism tallies with Mr Ellmann's ? For example, I had read only as far as page 2 when I came to a halt at Mr Ellmann's rhetorical

question : " What, for example does the cross mean to a man who is not a Christian ? " The rhetoric must be rejected and the question answered, most explicitly, perhaps, by quoting from Susanne Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key* (Cambridge, Mass. 1942. Page 284) :—

> Many symbols . . . not only words, but other forms . . . may be said to be ' charged ' with meanings. They have many symbolic and signific functions, and these functions have been integrated into a complex so that they are all apt to be sympathetically invoked with any chosen one. The cross is such a ' charged ' symbol : the actual instrument of Christ's death, hence a symbol of suffering ; first laid on His shoulders, an actual burden, as well as an actual product of human handiwork, and on both grounds a symbol of His accepted moral burden ; also an ancient symbol of the four zodiac points, with a cosmic connotation ; a ' natural ' symbol of cross-roads . . . and therefore of decision, crisis, choice ; also of *being crossed,* that is, of frustration, adversity, fate ; and finally to the artistic eye a cross is a figure of a man. All these and many other meanings lie dormant in that simple familiar, significant shape.

It seems clear from this example that Mr Ellman's idea of symbolism is too narrow : the real defect, however, and a much more serious one, is that it is impossible to know precisely what Mr Ellmann's idea is. We must be slow to suggest that an already long book should have been extended to include an exposition of the author's idea of symbolism, but as a considerable degree of ambiguity is possible on the matter, the suggestion must be made. I am encouraged in this line by remembering that in his recent book on *Symbolism and American Literature* (University of Chicago Press and C.U.P. 1953) Charles Feidelson usefully takes time off in Chapter 2 to discuss the question of symbolism in the light of modern attempts to sidetrack the Cartesian division of reality. This chapter ensures, above all, that when Mr Feidelson writes of symbolism in relation to Hawthorne, Melville and Whitman, we know exactly what he is talking about, where he stands, exactly what he means. The precaution was necessary and it greatly enhanced the value of the study : Mr Ellmann might well have been similarly careful.

This defect apart, the book is a useful study of the poems, and, in particular, a valuable corrective to the schoolroom-view of Yeats as a " Nature-poet ". Nature in Yeats's poems is never introduced merely for its own decorative sake : by expressing his feelings within a context of selected natural elements, the poet is able to enlarge the significance of those feelings into symbols of higher, universal relevance. Indeed, the only pertinent critical question about ' Nature ' in a Yeats poem is to what extent the natural elements invoked and their formal relationships contribute to the development of the poem's unique tone. The point is worth making because of the common tendency to cling desperately to the early Yeats poems with their " rare and delicate art " (to quote Mr Austin Clarke) and to regret in the later poems the subordination of the " Nature-poet " to the cantankerous, obscure symbolist.

Mr Ellmann's comments on the poems are invariably valuable particularly in the cases of ' No Second Troy ' and ' The Statues ' : there are few absurdities and only occasional excesses, such as the ponderous remarks on ' In the

Seven Woods'. Yeats has received a remarkably high standard of critical attention, notably from Cleanth Brooks, Peter Ure, Graham Hough, F. O. Matthiessen, William Van O'Connor, Arthur Mizener and Kenneth Burke. Mr Ellmann's book does not, of course, say the last perfect word on any of the poems but it makes its own welcome contribution.

DENIS DONOGHUE

SHORTER NOTICES

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND: TYNDALE TO HOOKER. By Christopher Morris. (Home University Library). Oxford University Press. 1953. 6s.

THIS little book is probably the best short introduction to English sixteenth century social and political ideas so far available. Mr Morris has no strikingly new or original interpretations, but he has an extensive knowledge of recent research and is able to summarize it briefly and attractively. He emphasizes the continuity between mediaeval and sixteenth century thought and points out that the Reformation conflicts by no means destroyed this continuity. Most of the book is naturally concerned with the controversies attendant on the Anglican Reformation. The Catholic and Puritan protests against the Henrician and Elizabethan Settlements are explained with insight. Perhaps the only group of thinkers towards whom Mr Morris is lacking in sympathy are the much-maligned Henrician "conservative" bishops of the type of Stephen Gardiner: it is possible that they were not such mere creatures of opportunism as Mr Morris believes.

HELOISE AND ABELARD. By Etienne Gilson. Translated by L. K. Shook. London: Hollis and Carter. 1953. 16s.

THIS translation places at the disposal of English readers the most balanced modern treatment of the famous love affair and the issues behind it. M. Gilson shows, by a detailed study of the correspondence between the lovers, that these issues were not purely personal but involved fundamental questions of philosophy and theology. As a Christian abbess Heloise reveals herself to be at heart of pagan Stoic sympathies, while M. Gilson cites the humanism prominent in the writings of both his subjects to prove his thesis that there was much in common between the mediaeval world and the Renaissance. It is a pity that this edition does not include two articles (*Le moyen age et le naturalisme antique* and *Moyen age et Renaissance*) which appeared in the original French edition of 1938. This is one of M. Gilson's most stimulating books, in which he shows a capacity to interpret from the inside ways of thought somewhat alien to the modern world (as, for example in his chapter on the secret marriage). The chapter on the primary sources, the only technical portion of the book, is placed in an appendix in this edition.

JOHN B. MORRALL

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